ABC of Social and Political Knowledge

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ЧТО ТАКОЕ МАРКСИЗМ-ЛЕНИНИЗМ?

На английском языке

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To the Reader

The day is not far off when mankind will enter the twenty-first century. New broad horizons of socio-economic and national progress are opening up before the peoples of the world.

Our century will go down in history as a period of momentous revolutionary change. The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia ushered in socialism on our planet. The Soviet Union now builds a developed socialist society in which the working man is to become, for the first time in history, the true master of his country, the builder of his life. Today, many other countries and peoples are building a new just society side by side with the USSR.

The ignoble colonial system of imperialism has fallen apart, with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America embarking upon the path of independent socio-economic and political development. The international working class has made considerable headway in the struggle against monopoly capital domination.

All these historic changes have proved the validity of the greatest socio-political doctrine of our time: Marxism-Leninism. Its inexhaustible strength lies in its ability to constantly develop and enrich itself. Each new generation finds in this doctrine answers to all important problems of contemporary life.

Every man, every nation is the maker of its own happiness, its fortune, justice and peaceful life. Today, no other problem is more important than that of ensuring man's right to a life in peace and freedom.

This and other socio-economic issues are elucidated in the present Series ABC of Social and Political Knowledge currently released by Progress Publishers.

It consists of twenty books covering various subjects which provide the key to understanding the historico-social development of the world. The books cover the basic issues of the Marxist-Leninist theory and are written in a clear and simple language. One does not need any special socio-political background to understand the con-

tents of these books, because they are written in a way that the reader himself may come to understand social imperatives and the objective laws governing the world revolutionary process, the life of nations and, indeed, of every individual.

This series opens with *A Reader on Social Sciences* made up of excerpts from the principal works of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and V. I. Lenin. This is followed by the popularly written books *What Is Marxism-Leninism?*, *What Is Socialism?*, *What Is Capitalism?*, *What Is the State?*, *What Is the Party?*, etc. The last in this series is a book, *What Is the World Socialist System?* which offers an historic and theoretical study of the genesis of the world socialist community. The book shows a new type of relations between the peoples and countries based on the principles of socialist internationalism, brotherhood, cooperation, respect for the independence, sovereignty and non-interference in the affairs of one another.

Each book in this series has a glossary of political and socio-economic terminology. It is compiled in such a way that the reader could easily understand the contents of the books and could with their help study still more involved problems of our time.

The present series is angled at all those unprejudiced readers who are interested in social problems, in the destinies of their own people and of mankind in general. This ABC of Social and

Political Knowledge will come out in many languages. From 1985, books in this series, written by prominent Soviet scholars, have been coming out in English, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Italian, Greek, Bengali, Hindi, Tamili, Swahili, Amharic, Malagasy, and other languages.

Victor Afanasiev,
Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences

Introduction

Over the centuries, people have been yearning for freedom, justice and a happy life. The finest and noblest of men, who saw the suffering and humiliation of the common folk and the injustices they were subjected to, could not put up with the order of things that generated all these iniquities. They called upon the exploited masses to rise against the tyrants and the rich.

Many doctrines and many social ideals were created, and many ways and means were suggested for their realisation in the name of freedom and justice, for the common weal. However, none of them provided working people with a compass that would show them the

only correct path to a society whose hallmarks would be free labour, peace, liberty, equality and social justice.

Taking into account the previous experience of earlier societies and their ideas, Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Frederick Engels (1820-1895) evolved a new revolutionary, scientific theory in the middle of the nineteenth century. Their great cause was continued by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870-1924).

The names of Marx and Lenin gave rise to the new doctrine, called Marxism-Leninism which you will read about in this book.

Chapter One

THE EMERGENCE OF MARXISM, AND STAGES IN ITS DEVELOPMENT

Marxism-Leninism is a coherent scientific system of philosophical, economic and socio-political views, and is the world outlook of the international working class, who are called upon to rejuvenate the world on socialist and communist principles. Marxism-Leninism is a science about the cognition and revolutionary transformation of the world, about the laws of development of society, nature and human thinking.

One should not stint time or effort to master this great science. Those who show enough perseverance to find the truth, will derive great satisfaction from it, and will experience the joy of discovery. Karl Marx likened the process of

cognition to the process of climbing a high mountain, and gave this practical advice: "There is no royal road to science, and only those who do not dread the fatiguing climb of its steep paths have a chance of gaining its luminous summits." [1]

Utopian Socialism

Dreams of Communism

Dreams and stories about a happy life, about a society of free people with equal rights were passed on from one century to another. Those were dreams and stories about a society where all people would do an equal amount of work, and would be fully provided with food, clothing and shelter.

From the depths of time came to us the luminous ideas of Thomas More (1478-1535) and Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) who painted an alluring picture of a just society free from private property, from the exploitation of man by man, a society where all people were required to do their share of work. More and Campanella lashed out at parasites and the rich. Thomas

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[1] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 30.

More wrote indignantly: "In so muche that a lumpyshe blockehedded churle, and whyche hathe no more wytte then an asse, yea, and as full of noughtenes and folyshenes, shall haue neuertheles many wyse and good men in subiectyon and bondage, onlye for thys, bycause he hathe a greate heape of golde." [1] In his view the root of all evil was private property and social inequality.

Thomas More wrote a book entitled *A Fruteful and Pleasaunt Worke of the Best State of a Publyque, Weale, and of the Newe Yle Called Utopia. Utopia* is the Greek for "a place that does not exist", and it has since become a byword for something visionary or perfect. This is why those who advocated the ideas of socialism but who did not know how to achieve it, were called utopian socialists. In his book Thomas More tells about what he thought was the ideal state, *Utopia*. It had no private property. All things in *Utopia* were owned by all of its citizens who were obliged to work. All fruits of their labour belonged to society and were distributed out of a public storehouse free of charge and in accordance with their needs. Everything belonged to everybody: this was the watchword of the utopian state.

Another utopian socialist, Tommaso Campanella, set forth his dreams about a future

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[1] Thomas More, *Sir Thomas More's Utopia*, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1963, pp. 80-81.

society, an association of free and happy people, in a book entitled *City of the Sun*. For them work is not penal servitude and suffering, but a source of joy, pride and glory. The very name of this city sounds musical and poetic. All living beings in this city reach out towards the sun which gives them light and joy. The rays of the sun stand in this book for the ideals of communism.

The ideas of Thomas More and Tommaso Campanella influenced the formation of the socio-political views of the next generation of utopian socialists – Claude Henri de Rouvroy Saint-Simon (1760-1825) and Charles Fourier (1772-1837) in France, and Robert Owen (1771-1858) in Britain. They lambasted the social system based on private property, and voiced some penetrating ideas about a future communist society. However, they naively thought that an ideal social system could be set up immediately after people had acquainted themselves with their writings. They believed that society could be transformed through dissemination of the enlightenment ideas, and not necessarily through struggle.

Claude Henri de Rouvroy Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier sharply criticised bourgeois society and described its vices. Charles Fourier came to the conclusion that bourgeois society is just as transient as all the other preceding historical formations and that it would eventually

be replaced by a harmonious social system of the future.

However, the dreams of the utopian socialists did not come to fruition. Claude Henri de Rouvroy Saint-Simon, for example, addressed his ideas of improving the existing social system to European monarchs in the hope that they would help him carry out his dreams. Charles Fourier sent notices in newspapers calling upon rich men to donate money for the organisation of a new society. Every day, by noon, he hurried back home, expecting millionaires to make their first donations. But the rich men were slow in coming. The utopian socialists did not understand that the exploiters would never voluntarily give up their power, their riches and their privileges.

Robert Owen went even further than creating the ideals of a future just society, and took some practical action towards this end. At the factory of which he was a co-owner, Robert Owen ventured a bold experiment. He cut down the working day, raised the workers' wages, and set up kindergartens for their children. In 1824, Robert Owen went to America where he set up a labour commune which, however, fell apart shortly afterwards. The humanitarian ideas of the utopian socialists could not stand up to the harsh realities of life under capitalism.

Why were the surmises and ideas of the utopian socialists so unrealistic? For the simple reason

that they did not understand the nature of hired labour, that they did not know the laws of social development, that they did not understand the need to carry on the class struggle, did not understand the historic role of the proletariat. In the eyes of the utopian socialists the workers were merely a destitute and woebegone lot, and not a great revolutionary force capable of toppling the capitalist system and of building a communist society.

It is true, though, that the proletariat was not yet sufficiently organised. The working class lived in poverty, but the conditions that would enable them to understand their great social role were still lacking. This is precisely why the views of Claude Henri de Rouvroy Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, and Robert Owen were essentially utopian, and not scientific. The utopian socialists were lone dreamers whose ideas could not take hold of the masses and become a formidable material force capable of transforming the world on socialist principles.

However, in spite of the immaturity of their ideas, the services rendered by the utopian socialists to history were extremely great. By exposing and castigating the vices of capitalism they put the spotlight on the need to replace it with a socialist society. According to Engels, "Saint Simon, Fourier and Owen, in spite of all their fantastic notions and their utopianism, stand

among the most eminent thinkers of all time" [1], who anticipated many features of future society.

The ideas and speculation about a future communist society advanced by the utopian socialists were in later years scientifically substantiated by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The Founders of Marxism

Historical Pre-Conditions and the Emergence of Marxism

Marxism was born as the result of historical progress, and primarily through the development of capitalism and the exacerbation of its antagonistic contradictions, through the growing political maturity of the proletariat, its industrial and political actions against the bourgeoisie.

The first bourgeois revolutions in The Netherlands (16th century), Britain (17th century) and France (late 18th century) led capitalism to victory over feudalism, smashed the old order of serfdom and dethroned monarchs. More and more people rose against oppression, thus demonstrat-

[1] Frederick Engels, "Preface to *The Peasant War in Germany*", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. Two, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 169.

ing their strength to the ruling classes.

The proletariat mounted a fierce struggle in support of their economic demands (for higher wages and a shorter working day) and political demands (for political emancipation). For instance, the insurrectionary workers and artisans of Lyons in France (in 1831 and 1834) demanded not only higher wages but also the proclamation of a republic in France. In Britain, the Chartist movement of the 1830s and 1840s openly set out to achieve economic and also political aims. Chartism was the first broad and truly politically organised revolutionary movement of proletarian masses.

A major industrial action by the working class was the uprising of the Silesian weavers in Germany (1844), which signalled the beginning of the struggle of the German proletariat against the bourgeois system and which greatly influenced revolutionary actions by the European proletariat.

The irreconcilable struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie was the main socio-economic pre-condition for the emergence of Marxism. The workers' movement became particularly extensive in the middle of the 19th century. It advanced from the lower, economic form of struggle to its highest stage, political struggle. By now the more numerous working class began to understand that economic demands made on individ-

ual factory-owners were not sufficient enough. The workers learned from experience that the capitalists were supported by the entire power of the bourgeois state apparatus, that the workers would never succeed in their struggle against capitalists unless they waged a struggle for their political rights. Already in those days the working class looked for the socialist doctrines for answers to the problems that beset them in those days. However, the pre-Marxian utopian socialism failed to provide them with correct answers.

The only genuine science about society and its development is Marxism-Leninism.

Karl Marx—the Founder of Marxism

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were brilliant scholars and great revolutionaries. They had a profound knowledge of social and natural sciences, and kept themselves abreast of the latest scientific discoveries and events of public life, creatively interpreted them and summed up their findings. The subject they attached particular attention to was the workers' movement in Europe, Asia, America and other parts of the world. In this they were aided by a good command of several languages. Karl Marx spoke French, English, and Spanish. He also knew Latin and Greek. Frederick Engels knew twenty languages. By crit-

ically reviewing the best that human genius had created, they carried out a revolution in science, created a consistent scientific theory of the transformation of the world and discovered the laws of historical development of mankind.

Karl Marx was born in Trier (Rhenish province in Prussia) on May 5, 1818. His father, Heinrich Marx, a lawyer, a man of great learning and professional skill, sought to bring up his children on the progressive ideas of Voltaire, Rousseau, Lessing and the utopian socialists.

In 1830, Karl Marx entered a grammar school in Trier, but his spiritual world developed in large measure independently of the school curriculum, because he spent much time reading books on history, philosophy and literature. Karl Marx thought early in life that he should dedicate all his life to the struggle for the happiness of the people, for justice. Young Marx set forth his thoughts and his mood in his graduation essay entitled "Reflections of a Young Man on the Choice of a Profession". In it Marx formulated the idea which had since become essentially the motto of his whole life: to work for humanity. He had it quite clear in his mind that his path was strewn not with roses but with thorns, but that did not frighten him. In fact, he was clearly aware of the great responsibility of his choice: "If we have chosen the position in life in which we can most of all work for mankind, no burdens can

bow us down ...,"[1] he wrote.

During his student years at the universities of Bonn and later of Berlin, Karl Marx made a profound study of history, literature, philosophy and law. In 1841, Karl Marx defended his thesis thereby displaying a wide range of knowledge and great intellectual prowess. It would be relevant to cite the opinion of Moses Hess, with whom Marx was very close in his youth. In a letter to a friend Hess wrote: "...be prepared to meet with the greatest, and possibly the only living real philosopher... Dr. Marx (this is the name of my idol) is still a young man (he is a little over 24); he will deliver a coup de grâce at medieval religion and politics. He combines the most profound philosophical seriousness and the finest sense of humour. Just imagine a person who is a fusion of Rousseau, Voltaire, Holbach, Lessing, Heine and Hegel. I say a fusion and not a mixture. And this is what Dr. Marx is like."[2]

In 1842, Karl Marx became a contributor and later the editor of *Rheinische Zeitung*. He used the newspaper for scathing exposition of oppressive

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[1] Karl Marx, "Reflections of a Young Man on the Choice of a Profession", in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, p. 8.

[2] Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Erste Abteilung, Band 1, Zweiter Halbband, p. 261.

Prussian rule, the domination of feudal lords and the ponderous Prussian bureaucracy, class privilege, and stifling censorship in the press. He came out in defence of the oppressed working masses. All that provoked the angry Prussian authorities to ban the newspaper early in 1843. That was when Karl Marx decided to leave Germany.

A new period of his life began together with Jenny von Westphalen, Marx's devoted companion throughout his whole life. According to Frederick Engels, Jenny not only shared the hardships of her husband, but actually took part in his work and struggle, and did that with devotion and passion.

In the autumn of 1843, Karl Marx moved to Paris where he founded *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (German-French Yearbook), a magazine in which he published his famous "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction". In it he expounded the idea that the proletariat was the real force capable of active revolutionary action, that the proletariat was the bond that held theory and practice, philosophy and life together. In other words, the proletariat was called upon to embody the ideas about a society free from exploitation.

What would the new society be like? Replying to this question Karl Marx, in his "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844", described communism as a society of genuine, accomplished

humanism, a society which gives all of its members opportunity for comprehensive development. He took a long step forward and defined his aim as the struggle for the ideals of communism. He also concluded that the material force capable of realising these ideas was the working class.

Thus the 26 yearold Karl Marx arrived at this new, truly scientific view of the world, of the life of human society. He did that as the result of a vast amount of creative work, studying and reprocessing the entire heritage of European culture in the sphere of philosophy and other areas of social thought.

Marxism emerged not only as a summary and appreciation of the cultural and intellectual achievements of mankind, but also as an expression of certain economic and socio-political tendencies in the development of bourgeois society, a society which is historically transient and which is doomed to extinction.

Karl Marx went over completely to communism in 1844, the year when Marxism as a scientific world outlook was born. However, it was to take tremendous amount of scientific, practical and revolutionary work yet to develop the Marxian doctrine in all its aspects. This gigantic work was carried out jointly with Frederick Engels. The two men first met in Paris in 1844. From that time dated a warm friendship

which helped them in their joint revolutionary activities. In the spring of 1847, Karl Marx joined the Communist League and soon after wrote, together with Frederick Engels, the celebrated *Communist Manifesto*, the first programme of the revolutionary party of the working class. In 1849, Karl Marx was compelled to move to London, where he made his home and where he lived until his death in 1883.

Marx's life in emigration was extremely hard. Had it not been for Frederick Engels' financial support he would have died of sheer poverty. Sometimes things went so far that Marx could not leave the house because he had pawned his clothes. In a letter of September 8, 1852 to Frederick Engels, he wrote: "My wife is ill, Jennychen [his daughter] is ill... I can't call a doctor because I have no money for medicine. For the past eight-ten days my family has lived on bread and potatoes, and today I am not so sure I can get even this much." [1]

However, despite his want Karl Marx continued his scientific and revolutionary work. He spent forty years writing his *Capital* (*Das Kapital*). The magnitude of this task can be judged from the fact that the preparatory material alone took

[1] "Marx an Engels in Manchester, 8 September 1852", in: Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Band 28, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1963, p. 128.

up some 30-35 volumes. In his own words, *Capital* was the most frightening artillery shell ever fired at the head of the bourgeoisie. In it Marx's doctrine found its most complete exposition. In it Marxism emerges as a mighty means for the scientific cognition of the world and for its revolutionary reconstruction. It was *Capital* that put socialism on a sturdy economic footing.

Marx left a vast scientific and literary legacy: scores of books and brochures, ranging from the voluminous *Capital* to lesser works, thousands of articles, documents on the working-class movement, and many, many letters. Most of what contains the fullest 50-volume Russian edition of the works of Marx and Engels was written by Karl Marx.

On March 14, 1883, Karl Marx died and was buried in the Highgate cemetery in London. Speaking at his graveside Frederick Engels said: "Mankind is shorter by a head, and that the greatest head of our time." [1]

[1] "Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, March 15, 1883", Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, p. 340.

Frederick Engels—Karl Marx's Friend and Associate

Frederick Engels was born in Barmen (Germany) on November 28, 1820. His father was an industrialist. In 1837, Frederick Engels took up commerce at his father's insistence. But young Frederick Engels showed little interest in this occupation and sought to carve out more time for self-education. He studied social sciences, literature and languages. He also excelled in sports, horse-riding, fencing and swimming.

He kept a close watch on the development of the ideas of utopian socialism, and finally came to the conclusion that only communism could provide the answer to burning social problems.

In the middle of November, 1842, Engels came to Manchester for commercial practice at a cotton mill of which his father was co-owner. At that time Britain was the most advanced industrial nation with the most highly developed working-class movement. The British proletariat was conscious of its strength and its industrial actions had assumed organised mass character. Frederick Engels made a detailed study of the political life of the country and the conditions of its working class. He visited the homes of common labourers, talked with proletarians and saw for himself how they lived and worked under the appalling conditions of British capitalism. Engels also met the

leaders of the working-class movement, studied statistical and documentary material about the work and everyday life of the workers.

Frederick Engels sent to the *Rheinische Zeitung*, which at that time was edited by Karl Marx, several articles about the conditions of the working class, and they were promptly published in that newspaper. He also sent him several articles for the *Deutsch-Französishe Jahrbücher* published by Marx. Among these articles was "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy". Karl Marx described this work as a brilliant survey of proletarian political economy, because it contained references to the principal phenomena and contradictions of capitalism analysed from the positions of the revolutionary proletariat. In his "Outlines" Engels also criticised the views of the leading exponents of bourgeois political economy and the arrant advocates of the capitalist class.

Karl Marx gave an even higher appraisal of Engels' other work which he had started in Britain but finished somewhat later, in 1845. This book, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, gave a truthful picture of the miseries of the working class. At the same time the author was the first to show that the proletariat was not just a disadvantaged, suffering class: the hard economic conditions drove the proletarians to a fight for their emancipation by overthrowing the capitalist system. He wrote to Karl Marx: "I accuse the Eng-

lish bourgeoisie before the entire world of murder, robbery and all sorts of other crimes on a mass scale... Needless to say that when I hit the bag I mean to strike the donkey, namely, the German bourgeoisie, of whom I say clearly enough that it is just as bad as the English, only not so courageous, consistent and adept in sweat-shop methods." [1]

In 1845-1846, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote *The German Ideology* in which they gave a detailed account of the fundamental principles of scientific communism. In it they set forth the idea that one social formation is inevitably and in due course to be replaced by another. They also proved the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism and showed that the underlying element of social development was the progress of the productive forces and production relations.

In 1847, Frederick Engels drew up a programme for the Communist League. Entitled "Principles of Communism", this programme later served as the groundwork for the *Communist Manifesto*. Written in 1848, it became a sound world outlook of the proletariat.

Frederick Engels wrote a large number of works, notable of which is his *Anti-Dühring* where he set forth the three constituent parts of Mar-

[1] "Engels to Marx in Paris, November 19, 1844", in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 21.

xism – materialist philosophy, political economy and scientific communism. After Karl Marx's death, he prepared the second and third volumes of *Capital* for publication. These two volumes are the joint literary effort of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

As Karl Marx's friend and associate, Frederick Engels always insisted that the credit for the creation of the revolutionary theory should go preeminently to Karl Marx. In his *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, Frederick Engels wrote: "Here I may be permitted to make a personal explanation. Lately repeated reference has been made to my share in this theory, and so I can hardly avoid saying a few words here to settle this point. I cannot deny that both before and during my forty years' collaboration with Marx I had a certain independent share in laying the foundations of the theory, and more particularly in its elaboration. But the greater part of its leading basic principles, especially in the realm of economics and history, and, above all, their final trenchant formulation, belong to Marx. What I contributed – at any rate with the exception of my work in a few special fields – Marx could very well have done without me. What Marx accomplished I would not have achieved. Marx stood higher, saw further, and took a wider and quicker view than all the rest of us. Marx was a genius; we others were at best talented. Without him the

theory would not be by far what it is today. It therefore rightly bears his name." [1]

Frederick Engels died on August 5, 1895.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels devoted all their lives to the international working-class movement. Their theoretical works and their practical activity gave rise to a new phase in the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Their greatest service to the working class was that they created a science-based revolutionary theory that replaced the earlier impotent dreams.

Communism: Science, not a Utopia

Through their research and revolutionary activity Karl Marx and Frederick Engels came to the conclusion that communism is not a discovery by some individual, even if that individual were a man of genius, but the inevitable result of the development of human society. By doing so, they transformed socialism from a utopia to a science.

Years later V. I. Lenin wrote: "There is no trace of utopianism in Marx, in the sense that he made up or invented a 'new' society." [2]

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[1] Frederick Engels, "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. Three, Progress Publishers, Mosocw, 1976, p. 361.

[2] V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 430.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels sought to analyse the past, the present and the future as materialists and dialecticians. They studied the problem of why changes take place in the life of society, and why it should develop in a certain direction and not in any other. They also showed that the real creators of history are the working masses who, in turn, create all material wealth, i. e. all things whereby society lives. The driving force in the development of all class (slave-owning, feudal and capitalist) societies is the struggle of working people against their exploiters. The founders of Marxism made a detailed study of capitalism and exposed its basic contradictions. They carefully studied the process of how the material conditions for the disintegration and collapse of capitalist society are created within this society. They saw the proletariat as a force capable of disrupting the old system and substantiated the role the proletariat would play in the building of a socialist society.

Why is the proletariat, and not any other social class, destined to scuttle capitalism and create a socialist society?

First, the proletariat in capitalist society is not attached to any form of property: proletarians do not own anything except their hands. The burden of private property does not encumber them and does not dampen their revolutionary aspirations. This is why in a socialist revolution the proletar-

iat has nothing to lose but its chains.

Second, the proletariat is subjected to cruel exploitation. The bourgeoisie gets most of its wealth by robbing the proletariat. This position of the working class in society makes it the most resolute fighter for socialism.

Third, the working class is linked with machine production which is the most progressive and at the same time constantly developing form of production. The growth of capitalist production proceeds side by side with the growth and consolidation of the proletariat – the principal productive force of society.

Fourth, the development of capitalist production inevitably creates a situation in which the working class fuses into one single revolutionary army opposed to the bourgeoisie. The working class is the most organised political force of our time. It is equipped with the most advanced revolutionary theory and is headed by the communist and workers' parties.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were the first to prove that the new society was not a figment or a dreamer's imagination but a final goal, the result of the development of the productive forces and production relations under capitalism. The *Communist Manifesto* has become the policy document and the programme of action of revolutionaries in all countries. In it the founders of Marxism outlined the fundamental ideas and

principles of their theory, and formulated the key provisions of scientific socialism and the revolutionary policy of the proletariat. It contains the fundamentals of the Marxist doctrine of the party which rallies the proletariat as an independent political force. *Manifesto of the Communist Party* ends with the prophetic words: "Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

"WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!" [1]

In the *Communist Manifesto* Marxism was for the first time presented as a consistent programme for transforming the world. V. I. Lenin wrote: "With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines a new world-conception, consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life, dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development; the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat – the creator of a new, communist society." [2]

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[1] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, 1976, p. 519.

[2] V. I. Lenin, "Karl Marx", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 48.

The *Communist Manifesto* gave rise to the revolutionary movement for the socialist transformation of the world. In V. I. Lenin's words, "this little booklet is worth whole volumes: to this day its spirit inspires and guides the entire organised and fighting proletariat of the civilised world." [1]

But how, in what practical way, are the ideas of the *Manifesto* expressed in our own time?

– First and before all, in the building of a new society in the countries of socialism. Also in the development of all aspects of socialist society, in the all-round consolidation and successful development of the world socialist community and of each individual fraternal socialist country.

– In irreconcilability to exploitation and oppression, in the dedicated struggle against imperialism, against wars, for peace among nations; in the struggle for the realisation of the fundamental class goals of the proletariat of the non-socialist part of the world, in the defence of its vital interests; in the struggle for the national emancipation of the peoples, for the consolidation and development of their revolutionary gains.

– In inviolable loyalty to proletarian internationalism, in the consistent struggle for the unity of Communists, for the consolidation of all anti-imperialist forces of our time.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Frederick Engels", *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 24.

– In irreconcilability towards any manifestations of bourgeois, nationalistic, reformist and revisionist ideology hostile to socialism, in the struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for its creative application and development.

Revolution in Views of Nature and Society

The groundwork for Marxism had been laid by the entire course of history, by the development of science of the previous generations of people. German classical philosophy, English political economy and utopian socialism became the theoretical sources of Marxism.

The leading exponents of German classical philosophy at the time were Georg Hegel (1770-1831) and Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872). The former spelled out his philosophical doctrine on development, or dialectics. However, the limited nature of Hegelian dialectics lied in its fundamentally idealistic principles. Some sort of absolute idea, according to him, formed the basis of and the ultimate reason for which the world existed. The latter, by contrast, sought to prove that nature could be interpreted by what it actually is, without resorting to mystic notions. But his materialism was metaphysical. It rejected development and recognised only quantitative changes. He failed to understand the great signifi-

cance of Hegelian dialectics and therefore could not apply it to nature or to the history of human society. Hegel's dialectics and Feuerbach's materialism served as the starting point of the creation of Marxist philosophy.

In political economy the predecessors of Marxism were the English economists Adam Smith (1723-1790) and David Ricardo (1772-1823) who proved that the main source of all wealth in the world was labour, and thereby went a long way towards the creation of scientific political economy.

The great utopian socialists of the 19th century—Henri Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen—sharply criticised the capitalist system and sketched out what they thought should be the society of the future. However, they failed to show the practical ways for its achievement.

Thus, Marxism was the legitimate successor of all the best that humanity had created in the 19th century, namely, German philosophy, English political economy and utopian socialism. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels did not merely continue to develop the heritage of their theoretical predecessors. They critically worked it over and then created a new doctrine which voiced the fundamental interests of the proletariat, the most progressive and revolutionary class. They accomplished a veritable revolution in the history of

social emancipation of the working people. This revolution took the following forms.

First, in their struggle with idealism Karl Marx and Frederick Engels succeeded in defending and developing philosophical materialism. They enriched this materialism with dialectics, i. e. with the most comprehensive doctrine on the development of the objectively existing world and on its cognition. By doing so, they created materialist dialectics which transcended the limitations of metaphysical materialism and radically differed from Hegelian dialectics based on idealism. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels extended materialism and dialectics to the life of society, thus creating historical materialism.

Second, the founders of Marxism drew on the ideas of Adam Smith, David Ricardo and other representatives of the classical bourgeois school of political economy and discovered the nature of the surplus value appropriated by capitalists. This is how Marxist political economy came to birth. The new doctrine of political economy explained the economic laws of capitalist society and drew a conclusion about the historical necessity of putting an end to private property and of replacing it with public property.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels developed problems of political economy simultaneously with their philosophical analysis of reality. Their philosophical materialism pointed out to the

working class a road to spiritual emancipation, while their economic theory, the cornerstone of which was their theory of surplus value, disclosed for the working people their actual position under capitalism.

Third, the founders of Marxism gave a scientific interpretation of class struggle. They substantiated the decisive role of the working masses in history and explained the world-historic mission of the working class in the elimination of capitalism, in the creation and consolidation of a socialist system.

Fourth, by substantiating the materialist understanding of history and by applying it to the apprehension of contemporary bourgeois society, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels disclosed the objective laws of transition from capitalism to socialism. By doing so, they equipped the working-class movement with a programme of revolutionary activity, with the strategy and tactics of the class struggle, and created the scientific theory of socialism.

The teaching of Karl Marx is omnipotent because it is correct. Herein lies the greatest source of its influence and strength.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels are not only great thinkers, but also are great revolutionaries, the leaders of the world proletariat. In their practical activities they followed the provision that Karl Marx himself had formulated: "The philo-

sophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways, the point is to *change* it." [1] And to the cause of revolutionary transformation of the world they dedicated their whole life, and all the power of their great minds.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels created the Communist League, the first political organisation of the revolutionary proletariat in history. In 1864, they founded the International Working Men's Association which went down in history as the First International. The idea of the First International was to set up mass proletarian parties in different countries, to educate working masses in the spirit of revolutionary theory. The main policy documents of the International, namely the Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules were written by Karl Marx himself. These emphasised that the emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself, and that its main task was to win political power and build a socialist society. Lenin said that "the First International (1864-72) laid the foundation of an international organisation of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary attack on capital. ... laid the foundation of the proletarian,

[1] Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach", in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 5.

international struggle for socialism."[1]

Thus Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were the initiators of the world communist movement. They were revolutionary thinkers who drew their inspiration in the struggle of the working class.

Leninism – a New Phase in the Development of Marxism

V. I. Lenin – the Great Continuer of the Cause of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

Marxism was further developed and extended in the works and in the practical revolutionary activities of the great son of the Russian people, V. I. Lenin (1870-1924).

At the turn of the 20th century capitalism entered its last imperialist phase. From an advancing and progressive system that it was before capitalism turned into parasitic, decaying and moribund capitalism. At that time the Russian proletariat became the vanguard of the international working-class movement. Tsarism and the remnants of feudalism fettered the socio-economic development of Russia where social conflicts had reached flash point. The working

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, 1977, pp. 306, 307.

class was fighting against capitalists, and peasants against the landlords. The peoples of the outlying national areas of Russia fought against dual oppression: the tsarist autocracy and local exploiters. By complementing and strengthening one another, the working-class, peasant and national liberation movements brought the bourgeois-landlord system closer and closer to collapse. As a result, Russia gradually became the weakest link in the chain of world capitalism. The cause of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels was continued by Lenin. Thus Russia became the homeland of Leninism.

V. I. Lenin (Ulyanov) was born in Simbirsk (now Ulyanovsk) on April 22, 1870. His parents were part of the progressive Russian intelligentsia. His father's ancestors were all very poor people. Nevertheless, his persistence and outstanding talents enabled him to finish the university and become first a schoolmaster and later an inspector of public schools in the Simbirsk Gubernia.

V. I. Lenin's mother was endowed with numerous talents. She knew several foreign languages, was a gifted amateur musician and an avid reader. Her frail appearance belied her magnificent courage, staunchness and self-sacrifice. All these qualities showed their worth in the years of trials and tribulations that fell to the lot of the Ulyanov family. In 1886, she lost her husband, and a year later her elder son, Alexander,

arrested for his part in a conspiracy against the tsar, was tried and sentenced to death. In later years she courageously bore the many arrests of her other children for their revolutionary activities.

V. I. Lenin lived the early years of his life under repressive tsarist rule, in a period of rampant reaction.

In the mid-1880s he began, all on his own, to study the theory of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. In the summer of 1885, he saw for the first time Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* which his elder brother had brought from St. Petersburg. In the winter of 1888, he read *Das Kapital* taking notes of this book, and studied some other books written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

V. I. Lenin embarked on revolutionary activities at the age of seventeen when he was a student at Kazan University. His profound knowledge of Marxism put him at the head of Marxist circles in Samara in 1892-1893 and later in St. Petersburg. These Marxist circles united into the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. At that time V. I. Lenin launched his propaganda and organisational activity among the proletariat of the Russian capital.

His greatest service was the foundation in 1898 of a party of the new type – the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party – which opened a new stage in the workers' movement in Russia and

other countries. For the first time the proletariat had an organisation that could in the new historical conditions guide its struggle for its social emancipation.

V. I. Lenin made creative use of Marxism in his revolutionary activity and was always its ardent champion. Already in his first works V. I. Lenin showed the creative approach to Karl Marx's revolutionary theory. In his work, "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats" (1894), he made an in-depth analysis of the development of capitalism in Russia, and showed the objective laws of capitalist development that applied in Russia and other countries in equal measure. In this work he criticised the theoretical mistakes of the populists who advocated the overthrow of the autocracy in Russia by a peasant revolution.

At the end of 1896, the tsarist authorities arrested V. I. Lenin and exiled him to the village of Shushenskoye in Siberia. There he was joined by Nadezhda Krupskaya who had also been exiled to Siberia. V. I. Lenin had met her at a St. Petersburg Marxist study circle back in 1894. Nadezhda Krupskaya became his wife, his devoted companion and his associate who shared his revolutionary views.

While in exile V. I. Lenin finished his massive work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (1899). In this work, on the basis of tremendous

factual material and statistical data which he had carefully studied and verified, he showed the process of disintegration of the rural commune in Russia, the stratification of the peasantry into hired labourers and the rural bourgeoisie, and the formation of an all-Russia market. He carefully studied the development of large-scale machine industry in Russia, revealed the capitalist character of industrial production, and elucidated the growing importance of the proletariat.

V. I. Lenin substantiated the historical role of the Russian proletariat as a consistent fighter against tsarism and capitalism, as the leading force of the impending socialist revolution. "When its advanced representatives have mastered the ideas of scientific socialism, the idea of the historical role of the Russian worker, when these ideas become widespread, and when stable organisations are formed among the workers to transform the workers' present sporadic economic war into conscious class struggle – then the Russian *WORKER*, rising at the head of all the democratic elements, will overthrow absolutism and lead the *RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT* (side by side with the proletariat of *ALL COUNTRIES*) *along the straight road of open political struggle to THE VICTORIOUS COMMUNIST REVOLUTION.*" [1]

[1] V. I. Lenin, "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and

V. I. Lenin was the first to develop in every detail the idea of revolutionary alliance of workers and peasants. He regarded this alliance as a force capable of not only wiping off tsarism but also of building a future socialist society.

Upon his return from exile, he proceeded to unite the revolutionary forces of the country on the basis of the theoretical, political and organisational principles of Marxism. However, police persecution forced him to go abroad where he continued to direct the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in Russia.

V. I. Lenin always attached special significance to the proletarian party, a new type of party, capable of leading the working masses in their struggle, a party called upon to direct the building of a socialist society. However, a revolutionary party cannot exist without a revolutionary theory embodying the ideology of the proletariat and linking it with the realities of life. This conclusion has a direct bearing upon any revolutionary party regardless of the conditions, the place and time of its activities. The advanced, revolutionary theory for the party of Communists is in the first place and primarily a guide to action.

An important role in the struggle for the crea-

How They Fight the Social-Democrats", *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, 1972, p. 300.

tion of a truly revolutionary party was played by his works *What Is to Be Done?* (1902) and *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* (1904). In the former V. I. Lenin exposed the opportunist trends in Social-Democracy. Camouflaging their actions by the demagogical words "freedom of criticism" the opportunists took an uncritical and conciliatory attitude to the dissemination of bourgeois ideas. This stand inevitably caused Social-Democracy to transform from a revolutionary into a reformist party.

In his other work, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, V. I. Lenin attached particular attention to the qualitative composition of the party, to the strict observance of the norms of party life, to the further strengthening of the unity of the party, and its discipline. He wrote: "In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation... the proletariat can, and inevitably will, become an invincible force only through its ideological unification on the principles of Marxism being reinforced by the material unity of organisation, which welds millions of toilers into an army of the working class. Neither the senile rule of the Russian autocracy nor the senescent rule of international capital will be able to withstand this army." [1]

[1] V. I. Lenin, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back", *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, pp. 414, 415.

In the autumn of 1905, when the first popular-democratic revolution was at its height, V. I. Lenin returned to St. Petersburg. The basic issues of revolutionary struggle were at the centre of his attention.

In July 1905, V. I. Lenin's *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* was published in Geneva, in which the strategic plan and the tactical line of the working class in the revolution were theoretically substantiated. In this book Lenin wrote: "*The proletariat must carry the democratic revolution to completion, allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush the autocracy's resistance by force and paralyse the bourgeoisie's instability. The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution, allying to itself the mass of the semi-proletarian elements of the population, so as to crush the bourgeoisie's resistance by force and paralyse the instability of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie.*" [1]

The first Russian revolution met with defeat. In compliance with a decision of the Party centre, V. I. Lenin left Russia in December, 1907, and began his second period of exile – this time self-imposed – ten "hellish" years which he spent away from his Motherland.

In April, 1908, V. I. Lenin wrote an article,

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, 1977, p. 100.

"Marxism and Revisionism", in which he opened up the ideological substance of revisionism as a champion of bourgeois ideology. The revisionists used "amendments" and "adjustments" in the Marxist doctrine as a screen for emasculating the class content of Marxism, they sought to "reject" the class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the very idea of socialism, and in this way to turn the workers' movement onto the path of reformism and compromise with the bourgeoisie.

In 1912-1913, V. I. Lenin wrote more than fifty articles on the nationalities question. In them he developed the Marxist theory of nations and of national liberation movements in the era of imperialism, formulated the fundamental principles of the Party's nationalities programme: full equality for all nations and nationalities, the right of nations to self-determination, etc.

Another important stage in the development of Marxism was *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), in which he revealed the economic substance of imperialism, its contradictions, its inevitable collapse, and drew the conclusion that imperialism is the eve of socialist revolution. This work is a direct continuation of Karl Marx's *Capital*, creatively developing its basic provisions. V. I. Lenin undertook scientific analysis of imperialism in some of his later works, too. The study and summarising of a tremendous amount of factual and theoretical material en-

abled V. I. Lenin to discover the law of uneven and spasmodic development of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism and made the important scientific conclusion that socialist revolution could win first in several countries, or even in one, taken separately, capitalist country. The importance of this conclusion is extremely great for the entire world revolutionary movement.

During the First World War, V. I. Lenin took an uncompromising and consistent stand against predatory imperialist wars. He came to the important conclusion that the imperialist (First World) war could be ended only by upholding and encouraging revolutionary actions by the popular masses, by consolidating their internationalist proletarian unity.

After the overthrow of tsarism in Russia as the result of the February (1917) bourgeois-democratic revolution, V. I. Lenin returned home on April 3 of that year, ending his second enforced exile term. A tremendous contribution to the development of Marxism was his book *The State and Revolution* (September, 1917) in which he set forth his doctrine on the attitude of the proletariat to the bourgeois state in the course of socialist revolution, on the state of proletarian dictatorship, and gave an in-depth theoretical analysis of the economic principles of the process in which the state is to wither away under communism.

The crowning achievement of his theoretical work was his scientific formulation of the ways of building socialism and communism. He disclosed the laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism and its principal features. By doing so, he deepened and creatively developed the teachings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels on a new society, enriched Marxism with new principles of the organisation of the masses for the building of this society.

It was under the leadership of V. I. Lenin and the party he had created that the working people of Russia carried out the socialist revolution in November, 1917 (October, according to the old calendar, hence the Great October Socialist Revolution), overthrew the rule of exploiters and inaugurated a new era in the history of mankind.

V. I. Lenin's life was one of heroism. He spent it in a never-ending intellectual effort and in unflagging revolutionary struggle, in ideological and political battles. V. I. Lenin embodied the most outstanding feature of the proletarian revolutionary: a powerful intellect, an unbending will that overcame all obstacles, a holy hatred of slavery and oppression, a revolutionary passion, a consistent internationalism, a boundless belief in the creative forces of the masses, tremendous organisational genius. V. I. Lenin's teachings, his contribution to the revolutionary theory came

to be known as Leninism.

V. I. Lenin developed and vastly augmented the theoretical legacy of his great teachers to make it suit new historical conditions. He enriched all the components of Marxism – its philosophy, political economy and scientific communism. He fought the attempts to turn the teachings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels into a fossilised, dead dogma, writing: "We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists *must* develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life." [1]

Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, of the collapse of the colonial system, of the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale. V. I. Lenin's contribution to revolutionary theory is so great that it has since been called Marxism-Leninism, the internationalist teaching of the proletariat of the whole world.

Thus, Marxism-Leninism is a scientific system of philosophical, economic and socio-political views that make up the world outlook of the working class, a science of cognition and revolu-

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Our Programme", *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, pp. 211-212.

tionary transformation of the world, a science concerned with the laws of development of nature, society and human thought, the laws of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, of all working people for the overthrow of capitalism, for the building of a socialist and a communist society.

Marxism-Leninism is an ever-living theory, a powerful method of creative apprehension of the experience of the struggle and creative activities of the masses, an indispensable guide to action. The secret of the eternal viability of Marxism-Leninism lies in the fact that the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, its methods, principles and ideas are close to the hearts and minds of millions of people. Every new generation finds in it clear-cut answers to all questions which happen to be in the forefront of their minds. Marxism-Leninism illumines the road to the future, and carries a message of peace and progress to the peoples of the globe.

Chapter Two

PHILOSOPHICAL PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels summed up the class struggle of the proletariat and on the basis of their research developed a fundamentally new philosophy—dialectical and historical materialism. Marxist philosophy was further developed in the works of V. I. Lenin who analysed the substance of the new historical epoch. As a living and creative doctrine, the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism is developing all the time on the basis of laws derived from historical experience down the ages, also on the basis of the achievements of the natural and social sciences. Dialectical and historical materialism constitutes the philosophical foundation of the doctrine of Marx,

Engels and Lenin, a science about the most general laws of development of nature, society and thought.

The Basic Question of Philosophy

The word "philosophy" consists of two parts: in ancient Greek, *phileo* means "love" and the second *sophia* stands for "wisdom".

Philosophy emerged a long time ago when people first took to thinking about the origins of the world, and its structure, about the place that man held in that world.

Crucial to the understanding of the world is the fact that all the things around us are either material or ideal, or non-material. The attitude of people to the surrounding world and their understanding of its origin have divided philosophers into two groups – materialists and idealists. For many centuries they have been waging a bitter struggle over the central issue of philosophy, which is the relation of thinking to being, of the spiritual to the material.

The materialists believe that *matter is primary and consciousness is secondary, and that the latter is the derivative of the former.* The world around us has not been created by God, and is not the creation of any independent intelligence or spirit. They also say that the consciousness of people reflects

objective things which exist independently of this consciousness.

The idealists contend that the spirit (reason, soul, etc.) existed long before nature and is in fact its creator. However, the idealists have split over the question which of the various forms of consciousness is the "creator" of the world. Subjective idealists believe that the objects and phenomena of the exterior world are created by the consciousness of every individual human being, i. e. of the subject. Proponents of subjective idealism summed up their philosophy in the formula—"the whole world is a complex of my sensations". On their part, the objective idealists hold that the material world is a product of some sort of universal reason which exists somewhere outside the consciousness of the individual.

The fundamental question of philosophy is viewed in two aspects. One aspect of this question is what comes first: matter or consciousness; the other aspect seeks to provide the answer to—"is the world cognisable, and can man penetrate into the secrets of nature and discover its laws?" Materialists insist that the world is *cognisable.* Some idealists deny this and say that the world cannot be cognised, and are hence called agnostics (from the Greek words "a" for "not" and "gnosis" for "to know"). Subjective idealists say that a person can cognise only his own thoughts and feelings. On their part, objective idealists in-

sist that man can cognise only the "universal spirit" and some sort of mystic "idea", etc.

The relation of thinking to being and of cognisability of the world is the fundamental question of philosophy, because its answer is at the bottom of the solution of all other philosophical problems, such as the character of the laws of development of the surrounding world, ways to cognise it, etc. If, for example, the consciousness, spirit, or idea is primary, then the existing exploiter system is inviolable and eternal: it cannot be changed because it was created by God. But, if matter is primary, then people themselves can eliminate a hated socio-economic system and build a new society free from exploitation. Idealism serves the interests of reactionary social forces, while materialism serves the interests of progressive revolutionary forces.

I. DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

Matter, Its Properties and Its Forms of Existence

Matter and Motion

How does Marxist-Leninist philosophy deal with the fundamental question of philosophy? It proceeds from the assumption that the outside

world exists objectively, regardless of our consciousness. This is a material world.

There was a time when people did not know the existence of infra-red radiation, or ultrasound. However, this does not mean that these phenomena did not exist then. They did exist, but had not yet been known to man. It is precisely because they are objective and independent of the consciousness of the subject that Marxist-Leninist philosophy brings all objects and phenomena under one overall term – matter.

How can matter be perceived? The material character of objects of the external world can be judged from the effect they have on our sense organs, and from the way they are reflected in our sensations. It stands to reason that not everything can be seen or felt. For instance, you cannot touch a radio wave or a magnetic field with your hands. However, they can be detected with the help of special instruments. Whatever form it may take, matter will ultimately proclaim its existence via our sensations.

Matter is a very broad notion and should not be identified with any of its concrete types such as chemical substance, gravitation field, etc. Matter is the unity and diversity of the world, the aggregate of objects and phenomena, their properties and relations between them. In other words, matter is the objective reality that we learn about through our sensations.

Relying on the results of research into the structural heterogeneity and inexhaustibility of matter, V. I. Lenin formulated the philosophical notion of matter: "Matter is a philosophical category denoting the objective reality which is given to man by his sensations, and which is copied, photographed and reflected by our sensations, while existing independently of them." [1]

V. I. Lenin's definition of matter ranges not only over objects already known to man, but also over those which may yet be discovered by science in future. By penetrating into the void of outer space or by studying nuclear processes, people are sure to discover new types of matter. But whatever new properties matter might have, it will still exists as objective reality, regardless of our consciousness.

The world around us is one integral material world. All objects, and all processes are mere manifestations and forms of matter. The development of science and man's entire practical activity point to the existence of the material unity of the world. Astronomy, physics, and chemistry point to the homogeneity of the physico-chemical composition of the earth and celestial bodies, and prove that their motion is governed by the same laws. Biology and genetics prove the structural

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, 1977, p. 130.

and functional unity of all living organisms. Physiology corroborates the existence of a material basis of the psyche.

Matter as objective reality characterises all of its properties, forms of motion, laws of existence, etc.

One of the immanent properties of matter is the fact that it exists only in motion, which "comprehends all changes and processes occurring in the universe, from mere change of place right up to thinking." [1] Just imagine the impossible that all physical, chemical and other processes in the universe come to a halt. That would amount to the total disappearance of the world itself.

Motion which is understood as change in general, as an eternal process of renewal, is a fundamental property of matter and indeed its means of existence. The motion of elementary particles, atoms and molecules is present in all material objects. On its part, every such object interacts with the environment, and this interaction produces a motion of one kind or another. Any celestial body which is in quiescence in relation to the earth moves together with it around the sun, and, together with the sun, it moves relative to other stars of our Galaxy, and the latter moves relative to other celestial systems, etc. There is no

[1] Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 69.

such thing as absolute quiescence, absolute equilibrium and immobility. Any state of quiescence or equilibrium is relative. For instance, a body can be in perfect quiescence on the earth, while at the same time moving, together with our planet, around the sun.

Science has defined the following forms of motion: mechanical (spatial motion); physical (electromagnetism, gravitation, heat, sound, changes in the aggregate states of substance, etc.); chemical (transformation of atoms and molecules in substances); biological (metabolism in living organisms); social (social changes, processes of thinking). Many new forms of motion have lately been discovered, such as movement and transmutation of elementary particles, intra-atomic and intranuclear processes, and other phenomena.

Thus, motion is a universal property of matter and the means of its existence. Matter cannot exist without motion, neither can motion exist without matter.

Space and Time as Forms of Existence of Matter

The motion of matter takes place in space and in time. There is no matter outside space and time. What is their philosophical interpretation?

Space and time exist objectively and independently of our consciousness. Philosophy construes "space" as a form of existence of matter, which denotes its extension, its particular place and distribution among other objects of the material world.

Time is another form of existence of matter. It characterises the duration of the existence of all objects and the sequence of states of objects which replace one another.

In other words, to be in space means to exist in relation to other objects—one in relation to another, and to exist in time means to be in sequence of one after another.

Matter, space and time exist independently of human consciousness, and are closely interlinked. Just like matter cannot exist outside time and space, so they cannot exist without matter. Space and time are interlinked not only with matter, but also with each other. "There is nothing in the world but matter in motion, and matter in motion cannot move otherwise than in space and time," [1] wrote V. I. Lenin.

Mankind's entire experience has proved that there are no eternal objects, processes or phenomena. Even the celestial bodies which have been in existence billions of years have their

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 175.

beginning and their end, as they emerge and eventually disappear. However, in the philosophical sense, matter is eternal because by disintegrating or perishing, things do not disappear without a trace, but turn into other objects and phenomena. For instance, the disintegration of molecules of one substance leads to the emergence of molecules of other substances. One generation and even species of living organisms are replaced by other generations and species; when a star ceases to exist, this does not mean that nothing is left of its substance. The sciences that have discovered the laws of conservation of matter bear out that by undergoing various changes, matter never turns into nothing, nor does it emerge out of nothing. Matter is eternal, it cannot be created and cannot be destroyed. Matter has existed always and everywhere.

Matter is not only eternal in terms of time, but it is also infinite in spatial terms. Scientific discoveries are continuously expanding the spatial limits of the world we know. Modern telescopes enable us to see stars which are several billion light years away from us. And conversely, the accelerators of elementary particles make it possible to measure distances so small that they cannot be detected even by an electron microscope. The limits of the material universe are truly infinite.

Consciousness, a Property of Highly Organised Matter

Man has consciousness, which is his ability to think, feel, sense, to have his own views and notions, etc. The question suggests itself: what is the real nature of this phenomenon, where is its source and what is the relationship of consciousness to matter?

It was back in hoary antiquity that man began to think about the mystery of his own mind. People wondered how, upon reaching a certain level of its development, inanimate matter brought forth living matter, and the latter brought forth consciousness.

Modern science has proved that consciousness is the result of the long evolution of matter. Matter, nature have always existed. But it took millions of years before man, an entity capable of thinking, came into being.

Consciousness emerged from developing matter and is inseparable from it. Nobody has ever experienced sensations and notions that could have appeared all on their own independently of matter. Consciousness exists only where there is a human brain, which is the organ of thinking in all humans. In other words, consciousness is the property of not just any kind of matter, but only of highly organised matter, and is connected with the activity of the human brain and with the spe-

cifically human, social way of life.

Consciousness stipulates not only the existence of the brain but also the existence of material objects that affect the brain and are reflected in it. Consciousness emerges only through the impact of the material world on the brain by way of our senses. Our sense organs are the "apparatuses" that reflect and signal to the body the various changes in the environment or inside the organism itself. The signals coming to the brain from our sense organs (vision, hearing, the senses of smell, taste and touch) carry information about the properties of things, their links and associations with one another. Stimulated by an action on our sense organs, excitation becomes a sensation and a factor of consciousness only when it reaches the brain.

Consciousness is the subjective image of the objective world. When we speak about the subjectivity of an image, we mean that this image has been transformed and re-processed in the mind of a human being. In the mind of man an object, a thing, is an image, and a concrete object is its prototype. V. I. Lenin wrote: "The fundamental distinction between the materialist and the adherent of idealist philosophy consists in the fact that the materialist regards sensation, perception, idea, and the mind of man generally, as an image of objective reality. The world is the movement of this objective reality reflected by our conscious-

ness. To the movement of ideas, perceptions, etc., there corresponds the movement of matter outside me." [1]

When V. I. Lenin says that man's sensations and thoughts are the images and copies of objects of the objective world, he does not mean it to be an automatic, passive photographing of objects around us in our consciousness. The human brain is not a photographic plate, nor is it a mirror. A person develops his ability to reflect the outside world in the process of social upbringing and education, in the process of social practice. This reflection is impossible without the development of his creative talents and abilities. He needs creation in order to compare and distinguish between things, to see the general in the particular.

The main substance and historical necessity of the emergence and development of consciousness are man's activity to transform the world and subordinate it to the interests of man and of society. V. I. Lenin summed up the active role of consciousness in these words: "Man's consciousness not only reflects the objective world, but created it... the world does not satisfy man and man decides to change it by his activity." [2]

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 267.

[2] V. I. Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's Book *The Science of Logic*", *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, 1980, pp. 212-213.

Marxist-Leninist philosophy, dialectical materialism, regards matter as primary and consciousness – thinking and sensation – as secondary and derivative. Consciousness has arrived from matter, from nature, as the highest product of its development. Consciousness is a mere image, a reflection of the outside world.

Materialist Dialectics

Dialectics – the Teaching of the Development and Universal Connection

Dialectics is the Greek for "dialogue", or "polemics". In ancient times, dialectics was interpreted as an art of getting at the truth by way of revealing contradictions in the argumentation of an opponent and by overcoming these contradictions.

Materialist dialectics construes nature and the world around us not as a state of repose and immobility, stagnation and immutability, but as a state of constant movement and change, or constant rejuvenation and development caused by internal contradictions. In his work, "*On the Question of Dialectics*" (part of his "*Philosophical Notebooks*") V. I. Lenin, for the first time in the history of Marxism, formulated and substantiated the fundamental provision that the nucleus of

dialectics is the doctrine of contradictions, the unity of opposites. "In brief, dialectics can be defined as the doctrine of the unity of opposites," [1] he wrote.

Thus, materialist dialectics sees the sources of development in the *opposites* inherent in the very objects and phenomena themselves. It regards development as a movement from the lower to the higher, from the simple to the complicated, as an uneven revolutionary process. This movement proceeds not within a closed circle, but along a spiral, each coil of which is deeper, richer and more varied than the previous one.

In contradistinction to materialist dialectics, its opposite, metaphysics, either denies the existence of change and development in general, or reduces this development to a mere quantitative decrease or augmentation. Metaphysics does not see the inner source of development of phenomena (contradictions).

The material world is not only developing, it is one united whole. Without association and interaction between different objects, and between different aspects and elements within each individual object, no development would be possible. Each object is linked with the rest of the world, forming, in the final analysis, one integral process of universal connection and interaction of every-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

thing with everything. This is precisely why, in order to correctly understand and study any phenomenon, it must be viewed in connection with other phenomena, and its origins and development must be closely examined. This is why dialectics is also called the science of universal connection.

The study of the universe as one integral whole, the examination of universal links between individual objects are aided by the laws and categories of materialist dialectics.

What is a law? What is its philosophical interpretation? A law is an objective, general, necessary and essential connection between phenomena and objects which is characterised by stability and recurrence.

Relying on their knowledge of the laws of nature and society, people act consciously, foresee the advent of events, transform objects of nature and their properties in the interests of society, deliberately change social conditions. In Karl Marx's words, "Once the interconnection [between objects] is grasped, all theoretical belief in the permanent necessity of existing conditions collapses before their collapse in practice." [1]

Significantly, certain particular laws deal with phenomena taking place in separate spheres of

[1] "Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, July 11, 1868", in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 197.

nature, society or thinking, whereas Marxist-Leninist philosophy studies general laws which construe universal interconnections in the world. These laws apply to all existing objects and phenomena, and are called the laws of dialectics.

Principal Laws of Materialist Dialectics

The principal laws of dialectics are: the law of unity and struggle of opposites, the law of transition of quantitative to qualitative changes, and the law of the negation of negation.

Unity and struggle of opposites. Characteristic of all phenomena of nature, society and cognition are their inner opposites, conflicting aspects and tendencies. In inanimate nature, for instance, this can be illustrated by the unity and the opposition between the positive nucleus of the atom, on the one hand, and its electron, on the other; in animate nature these inner opposites can be illustrated by assimilation and dissimilation; in society these are class antagonisms; in thinking this is analysis and synthesis. In this dialectical contradiction one opposite cannot exist without the other side. In other words, the opposites exist in one and the same phenomenon and manifest themselves in unity. Just imagine for a second, that one opposite has detached itself from the other opposite, say, in assimilation and dissimila-

tion. This will inevitably kill the living body, i. e. destroy the very phenomenon. Inseparable as they are, they cannot at the same time live in peace and accord precisely because they are opposites. This is why every object, every phenomenon includes both the struggle of opposites and their unity.

The leading role here is played by the struggle which leads to the development of any phenomenon. This struggle takes place at all stages of the existence of objects and phenomena. It takes place in the emergence of every such unity and within its framework. Significantly, struggle stipulates the formation and development of unity. It also takes place and assumes particularly acute forms when this unity breaks down, disintegrates and yields ground to a new unity. It is the struggle of opposites that leads to the disintegration of an old unity and its replacement with a new unity which corresponds closer to the new conditions.

Unlike struggle, the unity of opposites is only temporary. Having emerged as the result of this struggle, unity lasts as long as the contradiction with which it is bound, has matured and has resolved itself, and then disappeared, yielding ground to a new unity. Over a certain period of time this unity also disintegrates as the result of the development of the struggle between the opposites characteristic of this unity, and is then replaced by still another unity, and this is fol-

lowed by a fourth unity, and so on, *ad infinitum.*

Contradictions, the struggle of opposites are the inner source of movement and of the development of all phenomena and processes. Matter develops thanks to the inner forces, and it actually contains the very source of this movement.

Dialectical contradictions can be summed up as an interrelation and interconnection between opposites when they postulate and at the same time reject each other. The struggle between them is the motive force and the source of development. The law of unity and struggle of opposites construes one of the most important characteristics of dialectics: movement and development take place as self-movement and self-development.

Transition of quantitative to qualitative changes and vice versa. Any object has a certain quality which distinguishes it from other objects; it is also characterised by a certain size: volume and weight.

Quantity and quality are closely related and are inseparable. At the same time, they differ from each other. Change in the quality alters the object and leads to its transformation into another object. Quantitative changes do not transform the object all at once. For example, the temperature of metal can be raised by tens and even hundreds of degrees and yet it does not smelt, which means that it does not change its

physical state until it has reached a critical point, the melting point, when the hard substance turns into a liquid which, if heated to boiling point, will turn into gas. Thus quantitative changes will lead to qualitative changes.

Quantitative changes are evolving uninterruptedly and gradually. Qualitative changes are leap-like when an uninterruptedness is disrupted. Development in nature and society appears in two forms: slow evolution and rapid leaps.

A leap is a process of transformation of quantity into quality, of transition from one state of an object or phenomenon into another. Such leaps may be very sudden when quality changes all at once, involving the whole object (such as chemical reactions or a seizure of political power), and slow when one quality changes into another quality (emergence of new types of plants and animals). In this case the old quality transforms to a new quality gradually, not completely, but in parts: some elements of the old quality die away and are replaced by the elements of a new quality.

A leap of this kind should not be mixed up with the gradual quantitative accumulation of elements taking place within the framework of the old quality.

Thus, the law of transition of quantitative to qualitative changes, and the other way around, is the interconnection and interaction of the quanti-

tative and qualitative aspects of an object, whereby small and initially imperceptible quantitative changes – as they gradually accumulate – precipitate fundamental qualitative changes which take place by leaps and assume the form dictated by the nature of the object and the condition of its development.

The objective law of transition of quantitative to qualitative changes construes the process of rejuvenation of the material world where every leap means the destruction of the old and the emergence of the new.

Negation of Negation. Qualitative change may be possible only as the negation of the previous condition. Negation is the inevitable and legitimate stage in any development. No development is possible without negation of its old forms of existence, for the simple reason that in this case nothing new would emerge. What is negation?

Negation, in terms of the dialectico-materialist doctrine, does not mean the utter destruction of the old. In the first place, simpler phenomena often continue to exist alongside more complex ones. In animate nature, for example, many primitive organisms co-exist side by side with more highly organised animals. Secondly, in the process of progressive development the new, as it arises from the old, assimilates all the positive and valuable the latter had. In animate nature, for instance, every new species reproduces the positive

and valuable characteristics accumulated by its ancestors in the course of their evolution. In human history, too, every new social system arises by incorporating the material and cultural values created over preceding epochs.

Negation postulates connection, continuity of development. A new phenomenon born of negation absorbs, as it were, the achievements of the preceding stage and at the same time stands forth as something new, something richer in substance. The law of the negation of negation demonstrates the progressive character of development as a rise from the lower to the higher, from the simple to the complex.

Categories of Dialectics

As any other science, materialist dialectics is not merely a system of laws, but also of philosophical categories, i. e. concepts which sum up the common features and connections, aspects and properties of the world around us.

Let's look at some of the categories of dialectics.

Individual, particular and universal. Every object, and phenomenon, has its own specific, inherent features. There are no two things that are completely identical in all particulars. All that is immanent in a given phenomenon and is absent in other phenomena constitutes the individual. At

the same time, there are no objects and phenomena in the world that have no features in common with other objects and phenomena. Recurrent features that are inherent in many phenomena, and not in just one of them, constitute the universal. By comparing one object with other objects we identify their similarity and their distinctions. What distinguishes comparable objects constitutes the particular in them. Let us take a look at iron which frequently occurs in nature. As an element of inanimate nature it may be regarded as a universal phenomenon, as a metal it is the particular, and as iron it is the individual. Social revolution in human society is a universal phenomenon. A national liberation revolution may be a particular type of revolution. But the same revolution that has taken place in a given country characterises it as an individual phenomenon.

The individual, universal and particular are inseparable one from another. The individual contains the universal, while the latter exists only in the particular and through the particular.

Cause and effect. A phenomenon that brings forth another phenomenon is the cause of the latter. The result of the cause is its effect. Causality is the inner connection between phenomena in which one is immediately followed by the other. For instance, the heating of water is the cause of its transformation into steam, because when

water's temperature is raised, its evaporation becomes more intensive.

Causality is universal in character. There is no phenomenon or event without a cause, nor can there be. It is true that we often encounter phenomena the cause of which is unknown to us as yet. However, the process of cognition will eventually help us to identify such causes. Any development of the material world and of matter in general is a complex tangle of causes and effects.

Necessity and chance. The properties and connections which are brought about by the innate nature of the components of a phenomenon are designated as necessary. Properties and connections called forth by outside circumstances are called fortuitous, or accidental, attributed to chance. For example, a capitalist hires a worker of necessity, because the capitalist cannot exist without the latter. But whom exactly has this capitalist hired – Ivan, Pyotr, or still somebody else – is a matter of chance. Necessity is what, under certain conditions, is bound to happen. Chance is what, under given circumstances, can happen, or might not. With chance, events could happen in any imaginable way. Chance is a manifestation of necessity, and also supplements necessity.

Possibility and reality. Possibility is what can happen under relevant conditions. Reality is what has already happened. In other words, we

construe possibility as properties, processes and objects that do not exist in reality but that can emerge in consequence of the ability inherent in reality to change from one state into another. Possibility can, upon its realisation, convert to reality. This is why reality can be defined as a realised possibility, and possibility as a potential reality.

Possibilities may be realistic and abstract. Realistic possibilities express a law-governed tendency of development, and the necessary conditions actually exist for the realisation of these possibilities (as, for instance, the liberation of some developing countries from neo-colonialism). At the present stage of development, one must note, abstract possibilities have no conditions for their conversion to reality, but these conditions might appear in future (as the exploration by man of other planets in the solar system).

Content and form. Any object of reality is the unity of content and form. Content, as a category of materialist dialectics, is a sum total of all components, their interaction and their changes inherent in a given phenomenon. Interactions and changes inherent in this phenomenon take place in a certain orderly manner, have a relatively stable system of relations and a fixed structure. The comparatively stable system of relations between the various elements of content, and its structure, constitute the form of a given phe-

nomenon. Form and content are inseparable one from the other, they are two opposites that can exist only in unity. Content dictates form. It changes more rapidly than form and the two eventually come into conflict. The new content sloughs off the obsolete form and replaces it with a new one. Form bears upon content, with the new form speeding up development, and the old holding it back.

Essence and phenomenon are two concepts denoting different aspects of objects and phenomena. Essence is the nexus of all the necessary aspects and connections of any object; a phenomenon is a manifestation of these aspects and connections on the surface of things and brings out the meaning of essence. Essence is organically linked with a phenomenon, discloses its content only in and through the latter. On its part, the phenomenon is inseparable from essence and cannot exist without it. V. I. Lenin compared the interrelation between essence and a phenomenon to a deep and rapid stream whose depth and rapidity can be judged only by the waves and foam that are evident. "The foam above and the deep currents below. *But even the foam* is an expression of essence!" [1]

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's Book *The Science of Logic*", *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 130.

Theory of Knowledge

Is the World Knowable?

To this question Marxist-Leninist philosophy gives a clear and scientifically substantiated answer: yes, the world is knowable. This confidence in the knowability of the world rests on practice.

Cognition is a reflection of reality in the consciousness of man, with the world around us being the only source of knowledge. This world brings action to bear upon man and evokes in him certain feelings, ideas and notions which he then puts to the test in his practical activities.

Practice is man's activity aimed at changing both nature and society. It is based on man's work and on material production and also includes political and class struggle, the national liberation movement, scientific experiment. Practice is the opening and closing stages of any cognition of the surrounding world.

In the Middle Ages theologians stubbornly insisted that if two objects, one of which is a hundred times as heavy as the other, were dropped from the same height, the heavier object would fall to the ground a hundred times as fast as the other. Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) refuted this contention by throwing from a tower two

balls of different weight, which fell to the ground simultaneously. By doing so he proved in practice that the theologians were wrong and demonstrated that falling bodies have the same velocity regardless of their weight.

Practice is the initial point and the basis of cognition. This is because cognition stems from practical activities. For instance, man worked right from the very first steps of his existence. In the process of his hard work, man gradually learned about the forces of nature and accumulated knowledge about them.

Practice is also the goal of cognition, because man learns about the world, discovers the laws of its development in order to use the results of his knowledge in his practical activity.

Process of Cognition

Knowledge does not exist in a person's mind when he is born but gradually accumulates in the course of his life as the result of cognition. Moreover, cognition is not merely an act of automatic reflection of the world in the human brain. This is a complex process whereby his thoughts move from ignorance to knowledge, from a knowledge that is incomplete and inaccurate to a knowledge that is more complete and more accurate. And inasmuch as the world is infinite, cognition, too, is infinite.

What are the stages of cognition?

The first stage is sense perception. People get to know the world through their sense organs – eyes, ears and tactile organs, through which we obtain information about the material world.

The second stage of cognition is logical or abstract thinking. In order to get down to the essence of any phenomenon, we have to comprehend the information obtained with the help of our sense organs, to systematise these data, to cast off accidental and minor details and to bring out what is most essential.

But how can we be sure that our sense organs signal the correct information? Could it be that this information is distorted in the process of its transmission and comprehension? Knowledge obtained in the process of cognition becomes the ultimate truth only after it has been borne out by practice. If a person obtains a result that corresponds to the knowledge he has obtained, this means that this knowledge corresponds to the ultimate truth, to reality.

The question then arises: what is truth?

Doctrine of Truth

Truth is a knowledge of an object and a phenomenon which corresponds to reality, reflects the actual state of affairs. As it corresponds to reality, true knowledge "does not depend either on a

human being or on humanity..."[1] True knowledge is determined by the outside world which exists objectively, independently of us. This knowledge is objective truth.

Objective truth cannot remain immutable, since the reality it reflects is in constant motion, changing and developing all the time. But if the object reflected in our mind does change, if it converts from one qualitative state into another and if it loses some of its properties and connections and develops some other, our knowledge of this object cannot remain unchanged either. To be ultimately true, our knowledge of the given object must also change, get supplemented and brought in line with the changing reality. This is why objective truth is relative, it changes inevitably in line with the advance of social cognition, in line with changing reality and the conditions of its existence. The incomplete correspondence of our knowledge to reality, i. e. the knowledge which is yet to be defined more accurately in the process of cognition, is relative truth.

However, the relativity of our knowledge does not rule out the existence of the absolute truth, because the relative has elements of the absolute. The objective truth is both relative and absolute. It is absolute because it correctly reflects certain

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 122.

aspects of reality and relations within it; at the same time, the objective truth is relative because it never reflects reality fully and completely, and does not, and indeed cannot, embrace the entire content of the given object (which is inexhaustible).

Thus, although our knowledge is always relative, this does not mean that it cannot be objective and, consequently, absolute. "Human thought then by its nature is capable of giving, and does give, absolute truth, which is compounded of a sum-total of relative truths. Each step in the development of science adds new grains to the sum of absolute truth, but the limits of the truth of each scientific proposition are relative, now expanding, now shrinking with the growth of knowledge." [1]

II. HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

Mode of Production of Material Wealth—the Principal Factor in the Development of Society

Materialist Interpretation of History

Historical materialism which is one of the components of Marxist-Leninist philosophy is a

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

science dealing with the origins and development of society. For many centuries people asked themselves the question of what society is, how it came into being, what makes it advance and what laws govern this development. In contradistinction to concrete sciences about society, such as history, political economy, juridical sciences, etc. historical materialism is concerned with the *most general* laws of social development.

The creators of historical materialism, or the materialist understanding of history, were Karl Marx and Frederick Engels who thus accomplished a revolution in the prevalent views on society. Their cause was continued by V. I. Lenin.

The new science replaced the irrational idealistic understanding of history with a scientific materialist understanding. Pre-Marxian thinkers held that history was created by people, by their consciousness and their will. Hence their conclusion: all changes in the development of society depend on ideas, on theories. Some philosophers believed that the progress of society and the life of the peoples were governed by some sort of supernatural, divine forces. According to them, these forces ruled the destinies of people and all their actions. All these views could be qualified only as idealism.

Marxism has provided the key to the interpretation of development of society as an integrated,

law-governed process. Society develops in accordance with certain laws which are independent of the wishes and desires of people, independent of whether man knows of their existence or not. As soon as a person gets through to these laws, he puts them to good use in his own interests. People are rational beings, endowed with will power and with desires that enable them to set and achieve certain goals. This is why their activities influence the progressive development of society.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels showed that before they take up politics, science and the arts, people must learn how to obtain food, build shelter and make clothes. In other words, the material conditions of life of people, or their social existence, pre-determine their spiritual, cultural and intellectual pursuits, consciousness and theories which constitute the intellectual life of society.

Primary to all other social processes is the process of production of material wealth, man's labour. This process is an eternal, natural necessity, the indispensable condition of life of human society.

The Role of Labour in the Emergence and Development of Society

The emergence of man signalled the beginning of human society. In his present form, man

emerged on our planet about 40 thousand years ago, while the origins of life and the evolution of the organic world from its most primitive and simplest forms to man goes back hundreds of million years.

Charles Darwin proved scientifically that man traces his origin to the animal world and, more precisely, to a highly developed anthropoid ape. However, he could not explain how it happened and why. It was only Frederick Engels who proved that labour played the key role in the origin of man.

Over many millennia man's remote ancestors learned how to make use of their front extremities for simple operations which were prehensile functions. This change in the function of man's hand and his straight posture affected the development of the entire human body. This fact tended to bring people closer together, to stimulate mutual assistance and joint activity. Out of the labour process, and together with labour, emerged the language of human intercourse and articulate speech.

Labour and articulate speech served as the principal stimuli for the gradual evolution of the brain of the anthropoid ape into the human brain. Frederick Engels wrote that "...with the development of the hand went that of the brain; first of all came consciousness of the conditions for separate practically useful actions, and later,

among the more favoured peoples and arising from that consciousness, insight into the natural laws governing them. And with the rapidly growing knowledge of the laws of nature the means for reacting on nature also grew..." [1]

Production of Material Wealth – the Foundation of Life and Development of Society

The production of material wealth is made up of a number of components. In the first place, it needs the necessary initial material that man can use for making things he needs. These are the earth and its entrails, the plant and animal world, in other words, the objects acted upon by man, or the *objects of labour*. To make material production possible the need arises in the *means of labour*, or things that people place between themselves and the objects of labour, thereby acting upon the objects of labour. These in the first place include instruments of labour (axe, saw, lathe, complex machines of all kinds, etc.). Such instruments are being constantly changed and improved. The instruments and objects of labour constitute the *means of production.*

The means of production cannot function of themselves. The principal role in the process of

[1] Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, p. 34.

creation of material wealth is played by working people, their knowledge and skill. People create these means of production and put them into operation. The means of production and the people who create material wealth constitute the *productive forces* of society. The productive forces characterise the material relations between society and nature. The level of their development shows the degree of man's domination over nature. The level of productive forces is, in turn, determined by the degree of development of the instruments of production, by the man / power ratio of production and by the industrial and professional skills of people, their know-how and experience.

Since the earliest times people had to unite in order to survive, to scratch a living out of hostile surroundings, fight wild beasts and adverse climatic conditions. This dependence of some people on others grew with the development of the means of production. The means of labour, production experience and the very products of labour are the result of the joint activities of people.

In the process of creation of material wealth people of necessity enter into *production relations* among themselves. These relations are based on the ownership of the means of production. In other words, relations between people in the course of production are determined primarily by who is the owner of the means of production.

Under the system of public ownership of the means of production the existing relations between people are those of cooperation and mutual assistance, while the product of their work is distributed in the interests of the working people. Private ownership begets relations of exploitation and oppression. The exploiters misappropriate the greater part of the material wealth produced by the exploited classes, and the oppressed people live in poverty.

In their totality the productive forces and production relations constitute a mode of production. The mode of production and its components – productive forces and production relations – exist as objective reality, independently of the desire, will and consciousness of people. Using V. I. Lenin's graphic phrase, the mode of production is the "skeleton" of society, a skeleton which is clothed "in flesh and blood", i. e. all the other social phenomena, relations and institutions. Together they constitute one living whole, a certain system of society, a certain socio-economic formation.

Socio-Economic Formation

The socio-economic formation is a certain type of society, an integrated social system operating and developing according to its specific laws on the basis of a given mode of production.

The main feature of the mode of production is that it is changing and developing all the time. Significantly, changes and development in production begin with the changes in the productive forces. These changes are followed by changes in production relations, which eventually lead to the transformation of the entire social system, social ideas and political views which make up the superstructure of society. The founders of Marxism emphasised that the superstructure was not only relatively independent of the economic basis (a sum-total of prevalent production relations in the process of production, exchange and distribution) but that it also reacted upon the basis. Frederick Engels wrote: "Political, legal, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, etc., development is based on economic development. But all these react upon one another and also upon the economic basis. One must not think that the economic situation is *cause, and solely active*, whereas everything else is only passive effect. On the contrary, interaction takes place on the basis of economic necessity, which *ultimately* always asserts itself." [1]

Marxism-Leninism proceeds from the analysis of all interacting aspects of society's life, singling out in this interaction the principal, determining

[1] "Engels to W. Borgius in Breslau, January 25, 1894", Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 441-442.

and leading force: the mode of production of material wealth.

Why and how do socio-economic formations replace one another?

The productive forces are the most mobile aspect of the mode of production. They are constantly in motion and develop faster than production relations. The latter fall behind the productive forces, come into conflict with them and hold back their development. This conflict is resolved by the replacement of the old production relations with new ones.

This is the gist of the Marxist law of the correspondence of production relations to the nature and level of development of the productive forces. This law is the fundamental driving force behind the progress of material production and, together with it, the progress of society as a whole. It is also one of the most universal laws that has operated throughout the entire history of human society.

Thus, the conflict between the productive forces and production relations necessitates the destruction of the old socio-economic formation and its replacement by a new one. This is why the replacement of socio-economic formations is society's advance along the path of historical progress. Historically, there are five socio-economic formations: the primitive-communal, slave-owning, feudal, capitalist and communist (the first phase of which is socialism).

Transition from one socio-economic formation to another means a deep social upheaval which takes place in the form of revolution. Just as the slave-owning society yielded ground to feudal society, and the latter to capitalist society, the latter as a socio-economic formation will irrevocably clear the ground for communism. This is a socio-historical and law-governed process of development of human society.

Cognition of the progressive character of social development is of great practical significance, for it gives working people optimism and confidence in their victory. They are confident that their cause will triumph because the very laws of historical development are on their side.

Classes, Class Struggle and the State

Class Struggle – the Source of Development of Society

The question of what classes are and how they have emerged has been on the minds of men for a long time. Exploiters preach that class inequality has always existed and will never cease to exist, that God has created rich and poor people for all time.

The division of society into the poor and the

rich, into the exploiters and the exploited is a division into classes. If one part of society owns the land and the other slaves on this land, this means that these are two antagonistic classes – land-owners and peasants. If one group of people owns factories and plants and the other works at these factories, then we see two classes: capitalists and workers, the former misappropriating a considerable portion of the earnings of the latter. Classes are groups of people of which one can appropriate the labour of another thanks to their different relationship to the means of production. In other words, classes are large groups of people which differ one from another by their relationship to the means of production, by the role they play in the social organisation of labour, and also by the mode of appropriating and by the size of the share of public wealth.

Have classes always been, and will they always be? There was a time when there were no classes. In primitive society people lived in small communes enjoying equal rights. They worked together and held in common everything they had. Whatever the members of primitive society obtained they owned in equal measure and shared equally among themselves. However, the level of economic development was very low, man obtained so little food that it barely sufficed to keep his body and soul together. In those conditions it was impossible to live by one man exploit-

ing another, and at his expense.

Division into classes will disappear under communism. Once V. I. Lenin noticed in a hall where he was to make a speech a poster reading: "The reign of the workers and peasants will last for ever." V. I. Lenin explained to his audience the erroneousness of this slogan and pointed out that the workers's mission is not to immortalise themselves as a class, but to liquidate the class distinctions and to build a classless society—communism.

But when did classes first appeare? The classless primitive society dominated over many thousands of years, in the course of which man steadily, though slowly, developed his productive forces and changed the mode of living in the primitive commune. As time went on, stratification set in primitive society. Some people grew rich, seized and appropriated the land, livestock and tools of production; others, who had no property, were forced to work for the benefit of the rich and gradually became their slaves. This is how private ownership of the land and its entrails, forests, water and tools of labour came about. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), the French philosopher, author and enlightener, spoke with outrage about those who had first fenced off a plot of land and said: "This is mine!" His reasonings are somewhat naive in that he believed that private property and the resultant calamities and suffer-

ings were the product of the ill will of some individuals. There is a grain of truth in his words, though. Private property gave rise to classes and divided society into masters and slaves, oppressors and the oppressed, the two groups hostile to one another.

Characteristic of every antagonistic society is the existence of two fundamentally antithetical classes fighting against each other. In the slave-owning society, for example, those were slaves and slave-owners; under feudalism those were feudal lords and peasants; and under capitalism the two main antithetical classes are capitalists and workers. Since the time when society first divided into hostile classes, the entire human history was that of the cruel struggle of the oppressed against their oppressors and continued to be that until the victory of socialism. The exploited classes fight for their emancipation. The exploiters do not want to lose their wealth and their power. What they are actually trying to do is to enslave the working people still more and by doing so to consolidate their domination. "Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common

ruin of the contending classes,"[1] wrote Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

The struggle between classes under an exploiter system is the law of development of society, a powerful driving force of social progress. The revolutionary struggle of the exploited classes sweeps aside all that is old, obsolete and, at the same time, clears the ground for the new and progressive. This is the slave uprising under the leadership of Spartacus in the 1st century B. C. at the time when slavery prevailed. Other examples include the great peasant war in Germany in the 16th century, Jacquerie in France in the 14-15 centuries, the peasant war in Russia under the leadership of Pugachev in the 18th century (under feudalism), the French bourgeois revolution in the early 19th century which established the capitalist system in France, the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia which ushered in the era of socialism.

The State

What is the state and how did it emerge? The emergence and existence of the state is linked with the existence of classes. There were no classes

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[1] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, 1976, p. 482.

in primitive-communal society, nor was there any state either. But when private property advanced on the scene and when society was divided into hostile classes, the state took shape as a social organisation.

In all antagonistic societies the state is the machine for maintaining the domination of one class over another. It is also an apparatus whereby the exploiters keep the working people in submission. Therein lies the class essence of the exploiter state. To maintain their power the exploiters make use of the army, courts of law, prisons, and punitive institutions. They also use, in addition to the bodies of outright suppression, all the available ideological means of oppression: the school, press, radio, motion pictures and other mass media.

The socialist revolution replaced the exploiter state with a socialist state which emerges as a political organisation of domination by the working class over the deposed exploiters, by the overwhelming majority over the minority. The main task of the socialist state is to build a political system free from oppression, a system of social equality among working people.

There are several forms and types of the state. The type of the state is determined by the class it serves. If it serves slave-owners, this is a slave-owning state. If feudal lords are in power, the type of the state is feudal. The bourgeois state is

run by capitalists. All these three types of the state are characterised by the rule of exploiters and manifest their class essence.

The building of socialism and its constant improvement as a system is carried out by a new type of the state, the socialist state. The new society does not arise out of capitalism at once and directly. Karl Marx wrote that "between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*" [1]. With the building of socialism the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is transformed into a people's state, a political organisation of the entire people where the working class plays the leading role.

The type of the state shows its class essence, while its form shows the type of government it has (a monarchy, a republic) and its political regime (liberal democracy, military-fascist dictatorship), and its administrative structure (unitary, federative).

Bourgeois states have many forms, but their essence is the same: all of them are the instru-

[1] Karl Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Programme", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. Three, p. 26.

ments of the domination of capital. Whatever its form and whatever its name, it cannot change its exploiter essence, its role as the tool of domination by one class over another. V. I. Lenin said that "bourgeois states are most varied in form, but their essence is the same: all these states, whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*"[1]. The bourgeois state is the tool of whereby capital exercises its domination over labour.

Social Consciousness and Ideology

The Role of Social Consciousness

Marxist-Leninist philosophy defines social consciousness as a sum-total of ideas, theories, views, opinions, sentiments, moods, customs and traditions that exist in society and reflect the material conditions of people's life.

In other words, social consciousness reflects social existence, or material relations between people. If "social existence" means the material life of people and the conditions of production of material wealth, then the concept of "social consciousness" applies to their intellectual activity.

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 418.

Social existence determines the content of social consciousness and its class essence. At the same time, social consciousness is not passive and, in turn, affects social existence which brought it to life in the first place.

This impact depends on the character of social consciousness, i. e. the character of the ideas, theories and views making it up. In content all these social theories and views fell into two types: old, reactionary, on the one hand, and new, progressive, on the other. The old ideas and theories reflect and express the interests of the outgoing classes, which lends an adverse impact on the life of society and the development of society, because they hold back this development. By contrast, the new and progressive ideas and theories reflect the interests of the progressive classes and social groups, as the result of which they stimulate the progress of society.

There are two forms of consciousness: social consciousness and individual consciousness. Individual consciousness is the spiritual world of an individual: his thoughts, feelings, emotions, habits and aspirations. It takes shape in the course of the life of a given person, in the process of his practical activity, and reflects the material conditions of his existence. Individual consciousness is a manifestation of the practical experience and living conditions of an individual.

The ideas, views, emotions and aspirations

which manifest the common interests of people make up social consciousness. In a class society these are the common interests of a class or a social group and even of a smaller collective.

These two types of consciousness are closely interconnected and exist in dialectical unity. Social consciousness manifests itself only through individual consciousness, because any person lives and works in society, belongs to a certain class, nation and social collective.

Social Psychology and Ideology

Social consciousness exists in two spheres and at two levels: one is social psychology and the other sphere is ideology.

Social psychology is the totality of feelings, sentiments, aspirations, notions, habits, thoughts, and moods that develop in social groups and classes and even nations under the influence of their everyday life. Ideology is a system of political, legal, moral, philosophical, religious and aesthetic views and ideas characteristic of a certain class of people.

Social psychology is the initial stage of understanding by people of their social existence. In contradistinction to it, ideology constitutes a higher level of social consciousness, a more profound understanding by people of the material

conditions of their life. Ideology should be able to disclose the essence of relations between classes, nations, social groups and to substantiate from the positions of a given class the need for the continuance of or changes in these relations. Unlike psychology, which takes form spontaneously, ideology is the product of the work done by a special group of people who call themselves ideologists.

In a class society social psychology and ideology have a distinctly class character. Each class has its own psychology and ideology which reflect its place in the system of social production and which express its requirements and interests. V. I. Lenin wrote in this connection: "People always have been the foolish victims of deception and self-deception in politics, and they always will be until they have learnt to seek out the *interests* of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises." [1]

The ideology of the working class is Marxism-Leninism which is vastly different from all the previous ideologies both for its class content and for its goals. In the first place, Marxism-Leninism serves the working class and all working people,

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, 1977, p. 28.

and not the interests of the exploiter classes. Secondly, Marxism-Leninism has substantiated theoretically the need to abolish exploitation and to build a new society. Thirdly, Marxism-Leninism is a powerful weapon in the revolutionary transformation of the world, in the affirmation of the ideals of justice and freedom, of equality and brotherhood of people and nations in line with the best interests and desire of the broad popular masses.

The Role of the Popular Masses and of the Individual in History

The principal role in the creation of material wealth is played by working people. They make instruments of labour, improve on them and pass on their experience and knowledge from one generation to another. The working people feed and clothe the whole world and create all the good things of life.

The working masses not only create the necessities of life but also history itself, as they are the main driving force of progress. Slavery and feudalism receded into the past not of their own accord, but as the result of the strenuous revolutionary struggle of working men and women against their oppressors. The creative role of the popular masses manifested itself with particular

vigour in the days of the Great October Socialist Revolution which scuttled capitalism in Russia. The role of the popular masses in the revolutionary movement is forcefully conveyed in the Internationale, the anthem of all Communists:

We *want no condescending saviours*
To rule us from their judgement hall.
We workers ask not for their favours,
Let us concern for all!

The people create not only all material wealth, but also non-material, spiritual and intellectual values. Science, literature and the arts owe their development primarily to the popular masses.

What is, then, the role played by the individual in history? In an effort to justify the right of the tiny minority to oppress the majority, ideologists of the bourgeoisie attempt to implant in the consciousness of people the reactionary theory of the "mob and the hero". This theory is based on the assumption that the only real makers of history are outstanding personalities – kings, military leaders, legislators, etc., who, allegedly, can direct the course of history at their will. By contrast, working masses are presented as some sort of passive and historically impotent crowd of people, the mob.

Marxism-Leninism has exploded the theory that human society owes everything it has to just

a handful of men. This, however, does not mean that Marxism-Leninism completely ignores the role of an individual in history. No class in the history of human society has ever attained a dominant position, if it did not put forward its political leaders, its representatives capable of organising and heading a political movement. Progressive leaders who understand the needs of the people, their priorities, find the best solution to the tasks facing society and thereby accelerate historical processes. By contrast, reactionaries tend to slow down these processes and hold back the course of social development.

Outstanding personalities rise to the leadership of the popular masses and of social classes. They draw their strength from the support by these classes and social groups. No matter how intelligent and indeed how great these personalities might be, they would, without this support, be powerless to have any marked impact on history. Leaders derive their strength from the activities of the masses under their leadership.

The Significance of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy

Marxism-Leninism had carried out a genuine revolution in philosophy. It has created an altogether new world outlook, the world outlook of

the proletariat, Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

This philosophy is the only existing scientific theory which has set out to prove that the world is material by its very nature, that everything in it is changing and developing, is moving ahead from lower to higher levels, from the old to the new. Summing up the results of all other sciences, Marxism-Leninism equips them with the dialectical method of cognition, with the correct approach to phenomena under study.

By giving the correct picture of the world and by discovering the basic laws of development of nature and society, the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism serves as a mighty instrument of revolutionary action, as the world outlook of the multimillion popular masses fighting against all forms of oppression, inequality, and building a new, just society. The philosophy of Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical basis of the strategy and tactics of Marxist parties.

Chapter Three

THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Realms Political Economy Studies

The Subject-Matter of Political Economy

Political economy, alongside philosophy and scientific communism, is a component part of Marxism-Leninism and its economic foundation.

As a science, political economy emerged with the capitalist mode of production. However, it assumed a genuinely scientific character only after the working class appeared on the arena of the class struggle, when it gave rise to a new proletarian political economy the founders of which were Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. In V. I. Lenin's works Marxist political economy was raised to a still higher level.

Marxism-Leninism proceeds from the fact that material produc-

tion is the basis of society. Karl Marx wrote: "Every child knows that a nation which ceased to work, I will not say for a year, but even for a few weeks, would perish." [1] This means that labour is the basic condition for the existence and development of human society, the source of its wealth.

As we have noted in the previous chapter, material wealth is produced by individuals. In the process of production people inevitably enter into contact with one another and their work, therefore, assumes a distinctly social character.

Political economy studies the social relations that evolve between people in the process of production, distribution, exchange and consumption of the material benefits.

Production relations are based on ownership of the means of production. Such relations are of two different types. If society as a whole regards the means, objects and results of labour as its own, we call it public ownership. But if they belong only to a small part of society or even to some individuals, this is private ownership of the means, objects and results of labour. Political economy which examines production relations in development substantiates the inevitability, historical legitimacy of the victory of the system

[1] "Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, July 11, 1868", in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 196.

based on public ownership of the means of production.

Economic Laws

Production, distribution, exchange and consumption are all subject to definite economic laws. The discovery of these laws and their utilisation by people in their practical activities, in the national economy, is the goal of political economy as a science. Economic laws are objective, most essential and stable interdependencies in economic processes and phenomena.

Just like the laws of nature, economic laws are objective in character and sum up relations and inter-relations in society that are independent of human will and consciousness. Economic laws emerge alongside the development of human society, in the process of social production. Therein lies the main difference between them and the laws of nature, which operate regardless of the emergence and development of human society.

Economic laws are subdivided into the following groups, depending on how broadly they are applied. In the first place, these are general economic laws which are characteristic of all socio-economic formations. One such law says that production relations correspond to the character and level of the productive forces. Accord-

ing to this law, the old production relations, in the course of development of the productive forces, must unavoidably be aligned with them and be eventually replaced by new, more progressive production relations.

Another group of laws embraces those economic laws which operate only in some social formations, and not in all of them. Thus the law of value functions only where there are commodity-money relations.

But most of the economic laws are specific, inherent only in a certain mode of production and become impotent when this mode of production ceases to exist (as, for instance, the law of surplus value operating only under capitalism).

All this means that political economy is a science of the development of production relations, a science which studies economic laws inherent in these relations, i. e. the laws concerning the nature of production, distribution, exchange and consumption at different stages of development of human society.

The Economic Doctrine of Karl Marx

Theory of Surplus Value

Capital, the main politico-economic work of Marxism sets out the most important laws of development of capitalist production, and the in-

ternal contradictions of the capitalist system.

The greatest achievement of Marxist political economy is the theory of surplus value which Karl Marx gave the in-depth treatment in his *Capital*. V. I. Lenin called the theory of surplus value the cornerstone of the economic doctrine of Karl Marx.

This theory disclosed the secrets of capitalist exploitation, pulled the covers off the sources of enrichment for capitalists. In one of his letters Karl Marx himself wrote that the best in his book is the study of surplus value, regardless of its specific forms such as profit, interest, rent, etc. According to Frederick Engels, the theoretical solution of the problem of surplus value is the greatest service that this book has rendered to history.

Karl Marx started his analysis of surplus value and of capitalist society in general with the nature of commodity. Under capitalism, everything becomes commodity, including labour power which can freely be sold and bought.

Labour power is the physical and spiritual capability of man to create material benefits. In any society labour power is an indispensable component of production. However, only capitalism has rendered it into an item of commodity. For that the capitalist system has provided two important conditions: the personal freedom of the owner of labour power and his deprivation of

all the means of production, and therefore the means of subsistence.

In a slave-owning society, a slave could not sell his labour power, because he himself was the property of somebody else. Under feudalism, the peasant, too, did not own his labour power because of his personal dependence on the feudal lord. But under capitalism, the worker is personally free. Karl Marx wrote: "For the conversion of his money into capital, therefore, the owner of money must meet in the market with the free labourer, free in the double sense, that as a free man he can dispose of his labour-power as his own commodity, and that on the other hand he has no other commodity for sale, is short of everything necessary for the realisation of his labour-power." [1]

Capitalist exploitation is concealed from one's eyes, it is much less conspicuous than, say, under the slave-owning system or under feudalism. Under capitalism, this exploitation takes the form of economic coercion. Life itself confronted the worker with a choice: either to starve or to sell his labour power to the factory owner. It is not a whip or birch-rod but famine that is the main slave-driver of the working man under the capitalist mode of production.

Karl Marx disclosed the mechanism of capital-

[1] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 166.

ist exploitation. Labour power, as a commodity item, has a unique property: it can produce a greater value than it itself possesses. It is precisely for creating additional, or surplus value that capitalists hire workers. The main source of surplus value is the labour of workers, part of which is appropriated without remuneration by capitalists who have bought this labour power.

Thus, *surplus value is the value created by the wage workers' labour over and above the value of his labour power and appropriated by capitalists without remuneration.*

The production of maximum surplus value and its appropriation by capitalists through exploitation of wage workers is the *principal economic law of capitalism.*

The mechanism of production and appropriation of surplus value is such that the entire working time is divided into the socially necessary time and surplus time. During the first part of the working day the wage worker creates value equal to that of his labour power. This part of the working day is necessary for the production of the means of subsistence of the worker himself and his family. It is the necessary working time, while the labour spent in the course of the necessary time is the necessary labour. During the other portion of his working time, the wage worker creates surplus value. *This part of the working day is the surplus working time, while the labour expended in the*

course of the surplus working time is surplus labour.

In V. I. Lenin's words, "the wage-worker sells his labour-power to the owner of land, factories and instruments of labour. The worker spends one part of the day covering the cost of maintaining himself and his family (wages), while the other part of the day he works without remuneration, creating for the capitalist *surplus-value*, the source of profit, the source of the wealth of the capitalist class." [1]

Essence of Capital

Capital as a politico-economic concept is important here for a deeper understanding of the mechanism of capitalist exploitation. What then is capital? It is not just any means of production (instruments and objects of labour). These become capital only when they become private property and are used for the exploitation of workers. Capital is an aggregate of certain production relations between capitalists who own the means of production and the workers who are deprived of these means and are compelled to sell their labour power and in this way to create surplus value. *Capital is a value which begets surplus*

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 26.

value as a result of the exploitation of wage workers.

Capital is subdivided into constant and variable. The part of capital which is embodied in the means of production and which is transferred in full or in part without changing its initial amount to commodities produced is called *constant capital.* As for the part of capital expended on the purchase of labour power, its amount grows in the process of production. A wage worker creates with his labour a greater value than the capitalist has spent on the purchase of his labour power. This part of capital is known as *variable capital.*

The subdivision of capital into constant and variable shows that only its variable part, and not the whole capital, begets surplus value. This means, in turn, that capitalists can enrich themselves only by exploiting wage workers.

Rate and Mass of Surplus Value

How to determine the extent to which workers are exploited? There are two indicators to go by: the rate of surplus value and the mass of surplus value.

The rate of surplus value is the ratio of surplus value to the variable capital, which is the source of surplus value. Supposing the daily cost of labour power and the surplus value produced in one day each amounts to ten dollars. In this case,

the rate of surplus value is 100 per cent.

The rate of surplus value can be expressed through the ratio of one part of the working day (surplus time and the necessary time) to another, or through the ratio of one portion of expended labour (surplus labour and the necessary labour) to another. Imagine that an eight-hour working day is subdivided into four hours of the necessary working time and four hours of surplus time. In this case, too, the rate of surplus value is also 100 per cent.

The rate of surplus value shows the amount of gratuitous unremunerated labour that the worker gives away to the capitalist per unit of the necessary labour. This is why the rate of surplus value is called the rate of exploitation. "The rate of surplus-value is therefore an exact expression for the degree of exploitation of labour-power by capital..." [1]

With the development of capitalism there is a rise in the rate of surplus value. In the early 20th century, it stood at 130 per cent for manufacturing industry in the United States. At present this rate has increased to somewhere between 200 and 300 per cent, and at times even higher.

Although the rate of surplus value shows the degree of the exploitation of the worker, it nevertheles does not express the concrete amount

[1] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 209.

of gain derived by the capitalist from the exploited wage worker. This can be determined by the mass of surplus value which depends on the number of the exploited workers and the rate of their exploitation. The higher the rate of surplus value and the larger the number of workers employed at a capitalist enterprise, the higher the mass of surplus value and, consequently, the greater the parasitic profits derived by the capitalist.

Absolute and Relative Surplus Value

How is then the mass of surplus value increased and how is the exploitation of workers intensified? There are two ways of increasing the rate of exploitation of workers by capitalists.

The first way is to prolong the working day. If the necessary working time remains constant, an increase in the length of the working day leads to an increase in the surplus work time, which inevitably leads to a higher rate of exploitation. If, for example, the capitalist increases the working day from eight hours to ten hours, then, with the necessary working time remaining the same (four hours), the surplus working time will increase from four hours to six hours. The rate of surplus value here increases by 50 per cent and the mass of surplus value increases accordingly.

The surplus value obtained by increasing the working day over and above the necessary working time is called *absolute surplus value.* If they could, the exploiters would have forced the workers to work 24 hours a day. This, however, is impossible, because the worker, as any human being, must rest, eat and sleep. Thus, this time actually determines the physical limits of the working day. There are also certain social limits, for the worker must have time for the satisfaction of his cultural and intellectual requirements. The struggle for a shorter working day is an inalienable part of the class struggle of the proletariat.

The capitalists also increase the rate of exploitation by intensifying the labour process. Growing intensification of labour means that over the same period of time the worker expends in production more energy and creates greater surplus value. In practical terms, the worker expends an equal amount of energy, or even more energy, than he would with a longer working day. Today, the capitalists make wide use of the scientific and technical progress for the maximum exploitation of the working people.

The second method of increasing surplus value, of increasing the rate of exploitation of the working people, is the reduction of the necessary working time, with the total working day period remaining unchanged, which inevitably leads to increasing the surplus working time. Let us sup-

pose that the necessary time shrinks from four to three hours, with the eight-hour working day remaining the same. Then, the surplus time increases to five hours, while the rate of surplus value increases from 100 to 166 per cent. The surplus value obtained by increasing surplus working time which, in turn, is achieved by reducing the necessary working time, is called *relative surplus value.*

How does the capitalists succeed in reducing the necessary working time?

As noted above, the necessary working time is determined by the cost of labour power. The latter depends on the cost of such necessities as foodstuffs, clothes, footgear, rent, etc. If the cost of necessities goes down, the worker then spends less time working for himself and more for the capitalist. The decline in the cost of necessities for the worker is caused by the growing labour productivity in the branches of industry manufacturing consumer goods. This, in turn, brings down the cost of labour power, reduces the necessary working time and increases relative surplus value.

To bring down the cost of labour power, capitalists make wide use of the labour of women and children whose wages are lower than men's. Discrimination in wages also exists on national and racial lines.

Industrialised capitalist countries widely resort to the exploitation of immigrant workers. Accord-

ing to the UN data, the number of foreigners employed in Western Europe now stands at more than 20 million. In the United States, this number comes close to 12 million. Foreign workers are exploited primarily because they are, as a rule, less organised and are unable to stand up to the bulldoze tactics of the employers.

The more surplus value is created in society, the greater the profits derived by capitalists. Karl Marx proved scientifically that all groups of exploiters – industrial capitalists, traders, bankers and land-owners – obtain their share of profit from the combined surplus value created by workers. This is why all capitalists have common interest, have formed a united front against the working class and all other exploited strata of bourgeois society. This is why the struggle between labour and capital goes on unabated.

General Law of Capitalist Accumulation

Karl Marx's analysis of the gist of capitalist exploitation culminated in the formulation of the general law of capitalist accumulation.

Capital is inseparable from surplus value and begets it. At the same time, capital itself emerges from surplus value, and the accumulation of capital takes place through the conversion of surplus value into capital. In the course of accumulation

of capital one portion of the surplus value comes in the form of profit for the capitalist while the other portion goes into the accumulation fund. In its turn, the accumulation of capital breaks down into a part which turns into additional constant capital, and a part which turns into additional variable capital.

Insatiable greed for appropriation of surplus value and capitalist competition urges the capitalist on to expand his production and to improve technology, i. e. to increase constant capital.

The accumulation of capital, the development of production leads to an increase in the stock of raw materials, machines, equipment per worker employed. The share of variable capital falls relative to constant capital. If, for instance, the ratio between constant and variable capital was 1 : 1, that meant that half of the accumulation fund was expended on the means of production, and the other on the employment of work force. Today this proportion often stands at 9 : 1, i. e. nine units of the accumulation fund for constant capital and one unit for variable capital. This means that the demand for work force is falling, and many workers cannot find employment for their labour power. A large proportion of the working people become redundant, forming an industrial reserve army of labour and creating unemployment.

The industrial reserve army is one of the indis-

pensible conditions of capitalist accumulation, a prerequisite for the capitalist mode of production without which capitalism would not be able to develop, or exist, for that matter.

Unemployment leads to intensification of the exploitation of working people. The capitalists use unemployment for bringing down wages and for intensifying the labour of wage workers. In his novel *The Grapes of Wrath* John Steinbeck summed up this idea in these words: "When there was work for a man, ten men fought for it—fought with a low wage. If that fella'll work for thirty cents, I'll work for twenty-five. If he'll take twenty-five, I'll do it for twenty. No, me, I'm hungry. I'll work for fifteen. I'll work for food." [1]

The creation and growth of the industrial reserve army is a specific law of population inherent in the capitalist mode of production. This law is formulated this way: the labouring population produces, along with the accumulation of capital, the means by which it itself is made relatively superfluous; and it does this to an ever increasing extent.

The reserve army of unemployed in the capitalist world runs into hundreds of millions. In the advanced capitalist countries alone it exceeds 30 million. If all unemployed Americans were

[1] John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath*, the Sun Dial Press, New York, 1941, pp. 386-387.

lined up one behind the other, the queue thus formed would stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific over a distance of 1,500 kilometres.

Growing unemployment is a concrete manifestation of the general law of capitalist accumulation. This process has two poles, as it were: at one pole – the capitalists with their mounting wealth, and at the other – the growing number of unemployed, and the deterioration of their living conditions. Karl Marx formulated the general law of capitalist accumulation in these words: "The greater the social wealth, the functioning capital, the extent and energy of its growth, and, therefore, also the absolute mass of the proletariat and the productiveness of its labour, the greater is the industrial reserve army... But the greater this reserve army in proportion to the active labour-army, the greater is the mass of a consolidated surplus-population, whose misery is in inverse ratio to its torment of labour. The more extensive, finally, the lazarus-layers of the working-class, and the industrial reserve army, the greater is official pauperism. *This is the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation.*" [1]

The general law of capitalist accumulation manifests itself in the relative and absolute deterioration in the conditions of the working class. The

[1] Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 603.

relative deterioration in the conditions of the working class can be seen in the shrinking share of workers in the national income (the newly created value on a nation-wide scale) which stems from the higher rates of exploitation and of surplus value. The share of workers, i. e. their wages in total, also decreases in the aggregate social product which amounts to the material wealth manufactured by society over the whole year. In the United States, for instance, the workers account for about 40 per cent of the national income, while some fifty years ago they accounted for 54 per cent of the national income. In France, before the Second World War the wages and salaries of working people made up 50 per cent of the newly manufactured product, whereas today, this share has gone down to 34 per cent.

The absolute deterioration in the conditions of working people means the worsening of conditions of their life, which leads to a general decline in their living standards: poor housing, scanty possibilities for satisfying the most elementary needs in clothing and household utensils. According to the United Nations figures, there are about 800 million people in the capitalist world who are either starving or suffering from malnutrition. Almost 40 million people die of starvation every year. Excessive intensity of labour leads to higher injury rates at work places and to various occupational diseases. Many workers live in houses unfit

for habitation, slums which are euphemistically called "inner cities".

The glaring disparity so typical of the capitalist world between the rising level of requirements and the level of actual consumption of material wealth by working people is growing. Despite a certain rise in wages and in the level of consumption gained in the course of the class struggle of the proletariat, the living standard of most of the working people is below the official "poverty line".

The operation of the general law of capitalist accumulation exacerbates the antagonism between labour and capital and will inevitably lead to the collapse of the capitalist system by way of revolution. At present, the capitalist world is dominated by two antithetical tendencies: (a) the principal tendency towards deterioration in the conditions of the working class inherent in the very process of accumulation of capital, and (b) the opposite tendency born of the social forces that grow within the capitalist system. This last tendency manifests itself in the growing organisation of the working class and its allies and in their maturing social consciousness. The working class is becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the only way to get rid of exploitation and oppression is the destruction of capitalism by way of revolution.

Imperialism—the Highest and Final Stage of Capitalism

V. I. Lenin's Theory of Imperialism

At the turn of the 20th century capitalism entered its imperialist stage. In his work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), V. I. Lenin gave the first ever Marxist analysis of this phase of capitalist development. He disclosed the economic and political essence of imperialism, exposed its incurable social ills and vices, and showed the conditions for its unavoidable collapse. V. I. Lenin's essay on imperialism was a direct continuation of Karl Marx's *Capital*. V. I. Lenin enriched Marxism as a science, because his doctrine of imperialism and socialist revolution serves as a new stage in the development of the proletariat's political economy. V. I. Lenin's theory of imperialism was further advanced in the Party documents of the CPSU, in the materials of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, of the international conferences of representatives of communist and workers' parties.

V. I. Lenin proved that imperialism is not merely a new socio-economic formation. This is the same old capitalism, and it operates in accordance with the same economic laws and rests on the same foundation which is the capital-

ist ownership of the means of production, capitalist production relations. In other words, capitalism has not changed its essence, because its basic law is still production of surplus value and its appropriation by capitalists through the exploitation of wage labour by capital. Therefore all the fundamental laws operating under capitalism, all of its main features remain unchanged in the epoch of imperialism.

But there are certain features that are typical only of imperialism. These are:

(1) the concentration of production and capital which is so high that it has produced monopolies which play the decisive role in the economy;

(2) the merger of banking with industrial capital and the creation of finance capital and a financial oligarchy on this basis;

(3) the export of capital, in contradistinction to export of goods, which acquires special significance;

(4) formation of international monopoly alliances of capitalists for the purpose of dividing the world;

(5) completion of the territorial division of the world among major capitalist nations.

Concentration of Production and of Capital

The second half of the 19th century saw the first substantial changes in the technology of pro-

duction, changes that caused capitalism to enter a new stage in its development. The scientific and technological progress precipitated rapid industrial growth. New steel-smelting methods were invented and put into operation. Internal combustion engines, steam turbines, and electric motors gained ascendancy, and new industries (petroleum, chemical and electro-engineering) came into being, alongside the new means of transportation and communication. Major technical and structural shifts took place in industry, which stipulated the growing significance of major industrial enterprises. Competition between capitalist enterprises continued, but its conditions have changed, with large and giant enterprises gaining over small and medium-sized ones. Economic crises of overproduction recurred more and more frequently, and the number of unemployed rapidly increased. The destructive competition inexorably intensified the process of concentration of production, i. e. aggregation of more and more means of production, work force, output of goods at large and giant enterprises which belonged to capitalist monopolies.

Monopoly is a concentration of a considerable proportion of the production and sale of a given type of product in the hands of one big capitalist (or an amalgamation of capitalists) for the purpose of obtaining maximum profits.

Monopolies operate in different forms. The

more important of these are the cartel, syndicate, trust and concern. In the 1970s, about 350 big monopoly corporations, which constituted a mere 0.002 per cent of the number of companies in the capitalist world, concentrated two-thirds of the entire work force, about 70 per cent of capital and profits.

However, the domination of the monopolies does not put an end to competition in general, but only limits its scope and in fact generates even sharper conflicts. The monopolies are constantly at each other's throats in a bid to wrest superprofits. As a rule, monopolies make profits that are twice and even three times as great as those made by non-monopolised enterprises. An important factor behind such superprofits is monopoly-induced high prices on goods manufactured by monopoly enterprises.

Finance Capital and the Export of Capital

The concentration of production and the creation of monopolies in industry unavoidably brought forth banking monopolies, or finance capital. Finance capital is monopoly industrial capital which merged with monopoly banking capital. V. I. Lenin wrote: "The concentration of production; the monopolies arising therefrom; the merging or coalescence of the banks with in-

dustry—such is the history of the rise of finance capital and such is the content of that concept." [1] Finance capital is concentrated in the hands of the financial oligarchy, a small group of the bourgeoisie which dominates all the branches of the economy, and which plays an important role in both economics and politics.

The merger of banking capital with industrial capital led to the creation of gigantic amalgamations, which soon began spilling over into other countries, with an ever-widening gulf between the growth in capital and the limited possibilities for its investment at home. This is where capitalists began to export capital to other countries, especially to economically weak ones, setting up "daughter" enterprises of big monopoly amalgamations, plundering the natural resources of these countries and exploiting their cheap work force.

V. I. Lenin wrote: "As long as capitalism remains what it is, surplus capital will be utilised not for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses in a given country, for this would mean a decline in profits for the capitalists, but for the purpose of increasing profits by exporting capital abroad to the backward countries." [2]

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, 1974, p. 226.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 241.

As you see, the export of capital is doubly parasitic: the excess of capital is not used for the good of the people of the metropolis and, when invested in other, especially economically weak countries, serves as instrument of their exploitation, and holds back their independent development.

Economic and Territorial Division of the World

The export of capital leads to the formation of transnational monopoly alliances. Transnational monopolies are giant capitalist amalgamations whose operations extend either over vast areas or throughout the whole of the capitalist world. Most of such monopolies are transnational corporations which have emerged on top of capitalist competition because they make better and more efficient use of specialisation and cooperation of production on an international scale, derive additional profits from giant international operations, monopolise technical innovations, etc.

The economic division of the world does not eliminate the struggle between the monopolies for markets, spheres of influence, for the export of capital. The imperialist nations also intensify their struggle for territorial division of the world.

The economic and territorial division of the world in the epoch of imperialism unavoidably

led to the creation of colonial empires, which meant that the metropolitan nations mercilessly exploited the peoples of colonial and dependent countries. The colonial system of monopoly capitalism was the largest ever system of colonial slavery, which engulfed most of the peoples of our planet. This system combined exploitation based on outright coercion with economic enslavement.

In later years, national liberation revolutions destroyed the colonial system of imperialism in its classical form and, in the 1970s, put an end to the colonial empires. To date, the peoples of the few remaining colonies constitute a mere 0.3 per cent of the world population, and their territory adds up to about one million square kilometres, or 0.7 per cent of the territory of the globe. However, old colonialism has now been challenged by neocolonialism, so that many newly liberated countries have found themselves under the cruel economic domination of transnational corporations.

The Historical Place of Imperialism

V. I. Lenin's characterisation of the monopoly stage of capitalism extends far beyond its basic economic elements and also includes a definition of the place that imperialism holds in the history of the world. In a historical context, imperialism,

in V. I. Lenin's words, is the highest and final stage of capitalism. V. I. Lenin's doctrine of the historical place of imperialism is a continuation and development of Karl Marx's teaching about the abolition of capitalism by way of revolution.

V. I. Lenin points out the extreme exacerbation under imperialism of all the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production and says that imperialism is a special historical stage of capitalism. This peculiarity can be seen in three dimensions. First, imperialism is a monopoly capitalism; second, it is parasitic, or decaying capitalism; and, third, it is moribund capitalism. The parasitism is just another word for the decay of capitalism which is inherent in imperialism, in the domination of monopolies and in the oppression by financial oligarchies. This means that the capitalist relations of production have stopped being the factor of development of productive forces and have become the biggest ever stumbling block to social progress.

Imperialism has brought the contradictions of capitalism to a head. The old contradictions, characteristic of the epoch of capitalism, have been exacerbated as never before. At the same time, new contradictions have emerged on the scene. The basic contradiction of capitalism – between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation – is the first to have deepened.

The deepening of the basic contradiction of capitalism has lent further acerbity to the struggle between labour and capital. Finance capital is intensifying the exploitation of workers by setting monopoly-high prices on consumer goods and consequently widening the gap between the cost of labour power, on the one hand, and wages, on the other. The proletariat responds to this intensification of capitalist exploitation by stepping up its revolutionary struggle and industrial actions. The struggle of the working class is also intensifying in the economic and political spheres.

The conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is not the only contradiction of capitalism which has been brought to near-flash point. Imperialism comes in conflict with the vital interests of people of different walks of life, social strata, nationalities and countries. More and more popular masses, vast social groups and classes, whole nations are rising against imperialism. This creates favourable conditions for the unification, under the leadership of the working class, of all democratic forces into one anti-monopoly stream.

The conflicts between the imperialist nations and the newly liberated former colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are growing increasingly acute, and their opposition to neocolonialism is growing.

The clash between the vested interests of the

capitalist monopolies has resulted in the exacerbation of contradictions between the imperialist powers. The bitter struggle between them has a debilitating effect on imperialism which is steadily losing ground.

Those are the principal contradictions which tend to turn imperialism into moribund capitalism. This, however, does not mean that capitalism may yet die away on its own, without socialist revolution. By exacerbating to the utmost all the contradictions of capitalism, the system of monopoly capitalism brings the proletariat to socialist revolution and, in fact, makes it virtually unavoidable.

The Law of Uneven Economic and Political Development

Uneven development of individual enterprises, industries and whole countries has always been characteristic of capitalism. The thing is that such uneven development is the result of the competition and anarchy under capitalism. However, at its pre-monopoly stage capitalism was developing more evenly, without fits and starts. There was still much free territory that had not yet been divided among the capitalist powers at that time. As a result, capitalism could still develop extensively, so that the interests of different capitalist

countries did not clash as violently as they do today. Besides, it took a lot more time in those days for less advanced nations to catch up with economically superior nations.

The advent of imperialism changed this situation. The rapid development of science and technology and the growth of capital of the corporate interests enabled some imperialist countries to outstrip others over relatively short periods of time. Those of the countries which embarked upon the capitalist road of development somewhat later, but which used advanced technology and more progressive methods of production, forged ahead in a matter of years. This unevenness of development soon assumed spasmodic character.

Closely associated with this uneven economic development of capitalist countries in the epoch of imperialism is unevenness in their political development, i. e. growing political conflicts, the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in different countries of the capitalist world. This situation brings forth conditions for proletarian socialist revolution, for a breakthrough in the world capitalist system at its weakest points. As is recorded in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, "*The uneven nature of the development of countries within the capitalist system is deepening.* Three leading centres of inter-imperialist rivalry have formed: the United States, Western Europe

and Japan. Competition is mounting between them for markets, spheres of investment of capital, for the sources of raw materials and superiority in the key areas of scientific and technological progress."

V. I. Lenin concluded, on the basis of the law of uneven economic and political development under imperialism, that socialism could win out in even just a few capitalist countries, at first, or in one country, taken separately. That country turned out to be Russia, where a socialist revolution took place in November, 1917 (the Great October Socialist Revolution), thereby bearing out V. I. Lenin's conclusion.

General Crisis of Capitalism

The general crisis of capitalism affects its entire system, all of its aspects: economics, politics, ideology and culture. The general crisis of capitalism takes up a long historical period in the course of which began the inexorable process of "the collapse of capitalism in its entirety and the birth of socialist society" [1].

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.), March 6-8, 1918. Report on the Review of the Programme and on Changing the Name of the Party, March 8", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, 1977, p. 130.

The crisis of capitalism has gone through two stages and has now entered the third stage.

The first stage of the general crisis of capitalism coincides with the First World War (1914-1918) and the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia (1917). This is when the working people of Russia under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by V. I. Lenin destroyed the capitalist system in one-sixth part of our planet, established their own power and proceeded to building a socialist society. Those dramatic events ushered in a new era in the history of mankind, an era of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The second stage of the general crisis of capitalism was precipitated by the Second World War (1939-1945) and by the socialist changes in a number of countries of Europe and Asia which later formed a world system of socialism. Characteristic of this stage is also a deepening of the crisis of the colonial system and the beginning of its disintegration.

The mid-1950s saw the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism which continues to this day. One of the specific features of this stage is that it is not linked to a world war but proceeds in the peaceful conditions of competition between capitalism and socialism.

The principal features of the general crisis of capitalism are as follows:

– the splitting of the world into two diametrically opposed socio-economic systems – the socialist and the capitalist – and the struggle between them;

– the crisis of the colonial system of imperialism resulting in its disintegration and collapse;

– the exacerbation of internal and inter-imperialist contradictions of capitalism, its growing economic instability and decay;

– the deepening crisis of bourgeois politics and ideology, the loss by imperialism of its former unrestricted domination over most of mankind, the narrowing sphere of capitalist exploitation.

In the present-day conditions the basic features of the general crisis of capitalism manifest themselves in a variety of ways. In the first place, the world socialist system has become the key factor of mankind's development, with the influence of existing socialism growing all the time. Significantly, the economic achievements of existing socialism is the main factor and the main element of that influence. The main sphere of competition between socialism and capitalism is the economy.

Secondly, a considerable effect on the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism is the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. This, however, does not mean that the imperialist exploitation of the former colonies and semi-colonies has ceased. Many newly liberated states still suffer from economic exploitation and politi-

cal pressure by the neocolonialists. The tasks facing the newly liberated countries are complex and manifold. The problem at issue is to consolidate the independence they have won, to create a sovereign national economy, and to do away with the legacy of the past. All this could be achieved in alliance with the socialist countries and the international working-class movement.

Thirdly, the development of state-monopoly capitalism is proceeding at a much faster rate, which has exacerbated the old contradictions of imperialism and has given rise to new contradictions.

State-monopoly capitalism is the fusion of the power of the bourgeois state with the power of the monopoly corporations for the purpose of assuring monopoly superprofits, for suppressing the working-class movement and the national liberation struggle, for carrying out aggressive foreign policies.

A feature of state-monopoly capitalism is that it is used in an attempt to resolve the contradictions of capitalism within the frameworks of the existing socio-economic and socio political system, i. e. to save the decaying capitalist system from disintegration. For this purpose:

– the state becomes the owner of the means of production, notably some of the branches of industry and transport;

– new enterprises are set up of mixed state-pri-

vate ownership;

– the state tries to regulate the economy by making large investments in different branches of production and in research. It also redistributes the national income and financial resources in the interests of the monopolies;

– the state takes "anti-crisis measures" and tries to regulate relations between labour and capital in order to moderate the acerbity of the class struggle.

The leading role in this alliance of the power of the corporations and the power of the state is played by the biggest financial groups and by certain class organisations of the monopolists. In the United States, for example, such an organisation is the National Association of Manufacturers (N.A.M.) formed of 18,000 corporations headed by tens of biggest billionaire monopolies with decision-making powers that greatly affect the economic and political development of the United States.

One of the characteristic features of state-monopoly capitalism is militarisation of the economy and the creation of the military-industrial complex (MIC). The military-industrial complex is a closely-knit alliance of military-industrial monopolies and the militaristic quarters in the state apparatus. This apparatus includes leading weaponry manufacturers, top military and government officials. The arms race

rains gold on the monopoly corporations of the United States. Military orders fetch several times as much profit as contracts for civilian production. The military-industrial complex supports the policy of militarisation, arms race, and is opposed to relaxation of international tensions.

State-monopoly capitalism is riddled with contradictions. The present-day gigantic social productive forces require socialised regulation and management of production, they also require socialised forms of acquisition and distribution of the products of labour. State-monopoly capitalism intensifies the process of socialisation of production and of concentration of capital and production. The degree of capitalist monopolisation in capitalist countries is very high. In some industries of the US and the FRG it has reached 60-100 per cent. Some financial groups in imperialist countries have, through the system of state-monopoly capitalism, established their control over almost the entire wealth of the country.

State-monopoly capitalism creates certain elements of centralised regulation and control of the national economy. But, since it seeks to perpetuate private ownership of the means of production, the bourgeois social system regulates and controls the processes of production, accumulation, circulation and distribution in the interests of the bourgeois élite, and not of the whole of society.

The etatisation and centralised utilisation of an increasing share of the national income, the economic intervention of the state in capitalist reproduction, the creation of a ponderous machinery of regulation and control of the economy all point to further gigantic socialisation of production.

The above goes to show that, as a result of the socialisation of production, unprecedented under capitalism, and as a result of the creation of certain elements of economic planning, the material prerequisites of socialism and of replacement of capitalist with socialist production relations are generated already in the womb of capitalism.

Political Economy of Socialism

What Does Political Economy of Socialism Study?

The political economy of socialism studies the production relations, economic laws and categories of the socialist mode of production. Characteristic of capitalism is the spontaneous development of production, whereas the socialist system is characterised by the conscious operation of production, socialised regulation and control over the economy. The political economy of socialism studies a new type of economic relations free from the exploitation of man by man.

By making a comprehensive all-round analysis of capitalism, its contadictions and the causes of its eventual collapse Karl Marx and Frederick Engels provided fundamental theoretical principles on building a socialist, and then a communist society. In new historical conditions V. I. Lenin worked out the foundations of the political economy of socialism and created a firm theoretical basis for this science. He pointed out that the transition from capitalism to socialism called for the solution of a two-tier problem. To defeat capitalism in general it is necessary to defeat the exploiters and to succeed in defending the political power of the exploited (to defeat the exploiters with revolutionary forces), and then to create new economic relations (the creative aspect of the problem).

An important contribution to Marxism was V. I. Lenin's evolvement of the economic programme of the socialist revolution, in which he outlined and validated the principal directions of the economic policy of a proletarian state in the course of socialist construction. V. I. Lenin gave a profound and comprehensive analysis of the theoretical issues of the socialist economy: the forms of socialist ownership of the means of production; characteristic features of the socialist organisation of labour; the principles and ways of socialist economic management at individual factories and in society as a whole; the distribution

of material wealth among the working people, etc.

The fundamental features of socialist production relations are summed up in economic laws. The domination of public ownership of the means of production under socialism does not make economic laws any less objective, i. e. does not make them any more dependent on the consciousness and will of people, but changes the character of their operation.

There are some laws which are characteristic of all socio-economic formations and which are also valid under socialism. One such law is the law of the correspondence of production relations to the character and level of development of productive forces. The victory of socialism, however, gave rise to new economic laws, such as the fundamental economic law of socialism, the law of the planned and balanced development of the national economy.

A new specific feature of the economic laws of socialism is that they have lost their spontaneous character. With the domination of public ownership of the means of production, these laws are used consciously, in a planned and systematic way, on the basis of their profound scientific apprehension.

The conscious application of economic laws under socialism makes it possible to carry out a science-based economic policy, to exercise state

regulation and control over the building of the economy, over the organisation of social labour and over economic management.

Public Ownership of the Means of Production

The rise and formation of a socialist economy as a system is culminated by the consolidation of socialist ownership of the means of production in all branches of the national economy, by the establishment of socialist production relations. Public ownership of the means of production cannot be conceived in the womb of capitalism and is created only after the triumphant socialist revolution. V. I. Lenin wrote that such relations owe their emergence to "a social revolution ... i. e., the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, their conversion into public property..." [1]

When we speak of public property, we proceed from the fact that the means of production belong to all members of society. The principal and general element in relations of public ownership is the fact that no person stands in opposition to another person as a proprietor. All members of

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Draft Programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party", *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, 1977, p. 26.

society act as co-owners of the means of production. In their role of co-owners and creators of material wealth they are inseparable one from another. This makes socialism free from the exploitation of man by man, so that people develop relations of comradely cooperation, mutual assistance and collectivism.

In the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries the dominant form of relationship is socialist ownership of the means of production. Article 10 of the Constitution of the USSR reads: "The foundation of the economic system of the USSR is socialist ownership of the means of production in the form of state property (belonging to all the people), and collective farm-and-cooperative property."

These two forms of ownership have come into being as objectively required and historically and economically validated. The point is that at the time of socialist revolution most of the capitalist countries have two types of private ownership of the means of production: large-scale private capitalist ownership, based on the exploitation of labour, and petty-bourgeois private ownership, based on the work of those who own it. After the socialist revolution in Russia, the main source of state property were industrial enterprises, banks, means of transportation and communication and other property which had until then been in private hands. Collective farm-and-cooperative pro-

perty emerged as the result of voluntary unification of small peasant households into large-scale collective rural communities, also by unification of small craftsmen into cooperatives.

The two forms of socialist property presuppose division of society into two friendly classes: the working class (which is the leading class of society) and the farmers.

V. I. Lenin's Plan for the Building of Socialism

V. I. Lenin's plan for the building of a socialist society envisaged the creation of the material and technical base of socialism by way of industrialisation, the socialist transformation of agriculture and the accomplishment of a cultural revolution.

The principal method of creation of the material and technical base of socialism in the USSR was socialist industrialisation. This was primarily the development of the industrial infrastructure, the reconstruction of the entire national economy on the basis of advanced machine technology. In other words, socialist industrialisation meant the transformation of an agrarian country, as Russia was in those days, into an industrialised country and presupposed a change in the structure of social production when large-scale industry, with machine-building as its core, became its dominant part.

Industrialisation in the USSR created the necessary material base for the consolidation of the economic independence of the country, for technical version of all branches of the national economy, for the bringing of agriculture in line with socialist principles. Socialist industrialisation consolidated socialist ownership in the basic industries. It helped oust the capitalist elements in cities and assured the triumph of the socialist mode of life in industry, stimulated the growth of the working class and of its leading role in society, and strengthened the defences of the country. In a historically brief period of time, without any assistance from outside, the Soviet Union built a vast modern industry and achieved complete economic independence from capitalist countries.

The most important element of the building of a socialist society was also the transformation of agriculture. In his "On Co-Operation" (1923) and other works V. I. Lenin presented a clear-cut programme for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. He showed that the transition of small-scale private households to large-scale socialist farming called for production cooperation of peasants. This plan of V. I. Lenin was carried out successfully.

The hundred per cent collectivisation of agriculture in the USSR meant a fundamental and radical change of the old social system in the countryside, the transformation of centuries-old

private peasant farming, and the destruction of capitalist roots in rural Russia. Collectivisation put an end to the petty-bourgeois production relations in the Russian village and replaced them with new, socialist production relations. Collectivisation accomplished three fundamental tasks of socialist construction in the USSR. First, it eradicated the most numerous exploiter class in the country, the class of rich peasants, or *kulaks.* Second, it turned the class of peasants away from small-scale private farming to the socialist mode of farming. Third, it provided the Soviet nation with a socialist basis in the vastest, the most vital and at the same time the most backward sector of the economy: agriculture.

The building of a socialist society calls for raising the cultural level of the masses, i. e. the accomplishment of a cultural revolution. This, in the first place, meant stamping out illiteracy, total or partial, which had been inherited from pre-Soviet times; extensive training of workers in industrial skills; the creation of a new socialist intelligentsia, professionals in various fields; development of science and consolidation of its ties with production; ideological, political and ethical education of working people.

Three-fourths of the population of tsarist Russia were illiterate. Many non-Russian peoples living in the outlying areas of the country could not read or write. V. I. Lenin said, "There is no

other country so barbarous and in which the masses of the people are *robbed* to such an extent of education, light and knowledge—no other such country has remained in Europe; Russia is the exception." [1] The cultural revolution changed the Soviet state beyond recognition: it took the working masses out of spiritual slavery and intellectual darkness, introduced them to the cultural wealth of mankind. The USSR took a gigantic leap to the summits of science, technology and culture.

V. I. Lenin's theory for building a socialist society was put into effect in all its particulars. In general terms, socialist society had been established in the Soviet Union by the late 1930s. Socialism became a reality and its principles triumphed.

Under socialism, no individual, no social group can exploit other individual or social group; no one can live at the expense of other people; everybody is required to work. The right to work and the practical realisation of this right is the privilege of every member of socialist society. The economic character of socialism renders labour necessary and compulsory for every able-bodied citizen. What is more, labour is prestigious and it gives every person his social standing in society. "Socially useful work and its results determine a

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Question of Ministry of Education Policy", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, 1977, p. 139.

person's status in society," reads the Soviet Constitution.

The Basic Economic Law of Socialism

Operating under the conditions of existing socialism is the basic economic law of socialism ensuring the fullest possible well-being and free comprehensive development of all members of society through the steady growth and improvement of social production.

V. I. Lenin wrote that "socialism alone will make possible the wide expansion of social production and distribution on scientific lines and their actual subordination to the aim of easing the lives of the working people and of improving their welfare as much as possible. Socialism alone can achieve this. And we know that it must achieve this, and in the understanding of this truth lies the whole complexity and the whole strength of Marxism." [1]

Socialism postulates the satisfaction of material and cultural needs of people in an ever higher degree. Moreover, the requirements implied here are those which, in the first place, accord with the

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Speech at the First Congress of Economic Councils, May 26, 1918", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, 1977, p. 411.

level of labour productivity already achieved, and, secondly, the satisfaction of which does not warp the human being, but, on the contrary, helps the harmonious development of his personality. Such needs and requirements include full employment, material well-being, the spirit of collectivism and comradely mutual assistance, the feeling in every person that he is master of his own country.

The tendency that is particularly pronounced under socialism is that the satisfaction of material needs and requirements (the needs for food, clothing and housing) stimulates their further growth and together with this cultural and social requirements also multiply. The intellectual requirements are closely linked with such things as accessibility of school and college education, the introduction of the popular masses to the achievements of world culture and art, with their active participation in socially useful creative endeavour.

The social consumption funds play an increasingly important role in the improvement of the living standard of the people. Alongside payment according to labour, these funds are used for the satisfaction of the needs of Soviet citizens. The social consumption funds are used for providing free public education and free medical service, also for meeting the expense of annual leave at full pay. These funds provide money for a large

number of public services for citizens. For example, 80 per cent of the expense of the maintenance of pre-school child-care centres, most of the maintenance of the housing stock and a share of the cost of vouchers to health resorts and vacation hotels are paid out of the social consumption funds.

There is a uniform pension scheme for the whole of the Soviet Union. Pensions are paid out of the social consumption funds, i. e. at the expense of the S oiet state and collective farms. Pension age in the USSR is lower than in most countries: 60 years for men, and 55 years for women. Medical service and mother-and-child care are free of charge.

The basic economic law of socialism is the law of progress of social production. The motive force of socialism is growing public consumption, which is achieved through the nation-wide development and improvement of production in a planned, systematic way.

The Law of Planned, Balanced Development of the Economy. Planning

The domination of the social form of ownership of the means of production, the amalgamation of numerous factories and whole industries into one

single mechanism make it possible and objectively necessary to control and orientate the development of productive forces and production relations under socialism. The planned, balanced development of the national economy is the economic law of socialism. It requires planned and balanced regulation and social control over production, distribution, exchange and consumption in the whole of society.

Economic planning under socialism is universal in character. It is a special type of activity of the socialist state and the popular masses aimed at ensuring planned and balanced development of the economy, and is performed in accordance with a state plan of economic and social development. State plans are drawn up with an eye to the specific features of every given industry and regional potential. Such plans combine centralised regulation, economic independence and the initiative of individual factories and plants. A plan is the model of the future condition of society. It is a document containing the basic information about its economic and social development. The plan envisages proportions of the economy, the direction and speed of its development. It also includes particular assignments to be accomplished.

Economic and social development plan is a complex of indicators and measures for the development of social production as a whole and all its

individual branches. Science-based planning organises and coordinates combined economic activity of society in accordance with the tasks of socialist construction; works out specific measures of socio-economic development for a specified planned period, exercises control over the realisation of the decisions thus adopted.

The conscious application by society of the law of planned and balanced development of the national economy points to the active role played by the socialist state in the economy. Proceeding from the guidelines of the Communist Party, the Soviet state outlines programmes of long-term economic development.

The Economic Policy of the CPSU. Its Strategy and Tactics

The economic policy of the CPSU regulates relations between classes, social groups and national groups of the population in the sphere of the economy. V. I. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the economic policy of the party is of "absolutely exceptional importance", that economic construction is "our main policy", that "these are the politics that interest us most".[1]

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Tenth All-Russia Conference of the R.C.P.(B.), May 26-28, 1921, Speech in Closing the Confer-

At the stage of improvement of mature socialism, the role of the economic policy of the CPSU in the further development of material production grew immeasurably. Of particular significance are the strategy and tactics of economic development.

Strategy envisions the long-term fundamental goals and the basic directions of the party's political activities over a considerable historical period. Economic strategy should be construed as a long-term economic policy of the party viewed over a long period of time and aimed at achieving major ultimate results. For example at present, the CPSU has outlined a long-term strategy which is aimed at accelerating the socio-economic development of the country and ensuring that socialism will reveal in full its advantages, its creative potential, so that the people will live better and will be able to satisfy their needs to the full.

Guided by its economic strategy, the party uses the most rational possible tactics which means "the conscious selection of the means, ways, and methods of struggle that, with the least expenditure of effort, will yield the most substantial and

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ence, May 28", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 437; "Speech Delivered at an All-Russia Conference of Political Education Workers of Gubernia and Uyezd Departments, November 3, 1920", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1977, p. 371; "Tenth All-Russia Conference...", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 430.

permanent results".[1] Tactics is an aggregate of measures and actions carried out by the party at a certain stage within a given historical period. It stems from its strategy, is geared to its accomplishment and takes into consideration the specific conditions of the period in question. The tactical tasks of the party in the sphere of the economy were to assure its increasing effectiveness, with the emphasis on better economic management, on acceleration of scientific and technical progress, on intensification of the entire national economy.

By enriching and supplementing each other the strategy and tactics of the economic policy of the CPSU operate in unity. The party has made a comprehensive and profound study of the processes of economic relations in society and evolved ways and means of improving mature socialism, scientific propositions and sober estimates which have been put at the basis of its economic policy, strategy and tactics. In doing so the party adheres to the important rule: not to get too far ahead, and at the same time not to tarry. It is important not only to set correct goals, but also to work for their achievement in the face of any difficulties. Only this approach can serve as a guarantee

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Revolutionary Days", *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, 1974, p. 104.

against mistakes in policy, against the temptation of wishful thinking.

The crucial role in the formulation of the economic policy of the CPSU is played by the political economy of socialism. The laws of the political economy of socialism are at the root of the concepts of the socio-economic development of the country and are used for the realisation of all specific measures to achieve the goals outlined in the party's economic policy. Political economy is the theoretical foundation of Marxist-Leninist economic policy.

Chapter Four

THE THEORY OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

In its broader sense scientific communism is regarded as Marxism-Leninism as a whole, as a science of general socio-political laws, a science that shows the ways, forms and methods of the communist transformation of society, as a comprehensive substantiation of the collapse of capitalism and the triumph of communism.

In a narrower sense, scientific communism is one of the three components of Marxism-Leninism, which is inseparably linked with its other components: philosophy and political economy.

Emergence and Substance of Scientific Communism

Founders of Scientific Communism

Scientific communism was created by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels as the theoretical substantiation of the class struggle, as a consummate doctrine on the revolutionary deposition of the bourgeoisie and on the assumption of political power by the proletariat. The founders of Marxism proved that socialism is not an invention of dreamers but an inevitable result of the struggle of the workers against the power of capital. Scientific communism as a science is the theoretical expression of the position of the proletariat in this struggle and the formulation of the conditions of the emancipation of the proletariat.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were the first to turn socialism from a dream into a genuine science of the general laws, ways and forms of the proletariat's class struggle, of socialist revolution, of the building of socialism and communism. The theory of scientific communism which came to birth in the 1840s is based on two great discoveries. These were the materialist interpretation of history and the doctrine of surplus value which revealed the mysteries of capitalist exploi-

tation. This means that scientific communism is a law-governed and necessary extension and development of the philosophical and economic theory of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

In developing the doctrine of the proletariat's class struggle Karl Marx and Frederick Engels proved that the irreconcilable contradictions of capitalism could be resolved only by way of socialist revolution that would destroy the domination of the bourgeoisie. The social force called upon to liquidate capitalism and to establish a socialist system was the working class. The great achievement of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels was their substantiation of the need for the proletariat to create their own independent political party, the Communist Party, which would be the front-rank detachment of the working class and would lead the working people in their struggle for socialism and communism.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels substantiated the doctrine on the dictatorship of the proletariat which, they said, would be established in the course of a socialist revolution. They enlarged upon the provision about the inevitability of the revolutionary transition period from capitalism to socialism and gave a scientific concept of a future communist society.

V. I. Lenin's name is linked to a new phase in the development of the theory of scientific communism. Using the rich experience of the

revolutionary masses in the epoch of imperialism V. I. Lenin advanced Marxism as applied to new historical conditions. V. I. Lenin's ideas about the main features of bourgeois-democratic revolution in the epoch of imperialism, and its motive forces, and about the avenues of its growth into a socialist revolution, about dictatorship of the proletariat in the transition period from capitalism to socialism, about ways to solve the agrarian problem and nationalities question, about the leading role of the proletarian party of a new type – make the most valuable contribution to the development of scientific communism.

The development of scientific communism continues in the theoretical activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of other Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties.

Subject-Matter of Scientific Communism

Scientific communism is a science about the class struggle of the proletariat and socialist revolution, about the socio-political laws governing the building of socialism and communism, about the world revolutionary process as a whole. Thus, the theory of scientific communism studies and substantiates:

– the historical inevitability of the collapse of

capitalism and the triumph of communism;

prerequisites and conditions for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist into socialist society;

– the world-historic mission of the working class, the place and role of the non-proletarian masses under its leadership in the revolutionary struggle;

the laws, ways and forms of the class struggle of the proletariat;

– historical necessity and tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat;

the ways of development of socialism and the laws governing this development;

the role of the national liberation revolutions and the democratic movements in the current revolutionary process;

the main directions and the principles of the strategy and tactics of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

In contradistinction to historical materialism, scientific communism studies the laws governing the development not of all socio-economic formations, but only of the communist formation.

Scientific communism is an international doctrine, as it stems primarily from the internationalist character of the working class, whose interests and ideals this doctrine expresses and defends. Scientific communism sums up the experience not of just one individual country, but of all countries

and nations, of the whole world revolutionary movement. For more than a hundred years the world communist movement has been guided by the fundamental propositions and conclusions made by scientific communism and, proceeding from them, builds its own strategy and tactics. Scientific communism is developing together with the revolutionary movement and sums up its experience.

Underlying the study of scientific communism are the materialist theory of knowledge of social life and the dialectical method. They make it possible to outline the science-based avenues of resolving both the existing and future conflicts in the course of socialist revolution, in the course of the establishment of a dictatorship of the working class, the accomplishment of the main goals of the building of socialist and communist societies.

In applying the method of logical generalisation of the experience of the proletariat's revolutionary struggle, the experience of the building of a socialist and communist society, scientific communism at the same time firmly adheres to the positions of historical reality. V. I. Lenin wrote that the "most reliable thing in a question of social science ... is not to forget the underlying historical connection, to examine every question from the standpoint of how the given phenomenon arose in history and what were the principal stages in its development, and, from the

standpoint of its development, to examine what it has become today." [1]

Scientific communism is a creative doctrine. Its key principle is not to lose touch with reality, with the practice of the struggle of the working class and all working people for the communist transformation of society. Life is not at a standstill, on the contrary, it is in a state of flux, and as it goes on and develops, so does the theory of scientific communism.

The World-Historic Mission of the Working Class

Proletariat – the Grave-Digger of the Bourgeoisie

Using a mass of factual material, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels proved cogently that the collapse of capitalism and the triumph of communism were a foregone conclusion. They saw in the proletariat the particular social force that would effect the revolutionary transformation of society. That greatest scientific discovery is at the centre of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. V. I. Lenin wrote that the "chief thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The State", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 473.

role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society." [1]

The classics of Marxism came to the conclusion that capitalism contains the seeds of its own destruction. The *Communist Manifesto*, for example, says that the bourgeoisie has produced its own grave-digger, i. e. the proletariat.

Why is it the proletariat that is destined to give capitalism its last rites? This, in the first place, is because the working class is the most oppressed class. By the proletariat we mean the class of modern wage workers who, being deprived of their own means of production, are compelled to sell their labour power in order to exist. The position of the proletariat as the exploited class suggests its profound dissatisfaction with the capitalist system, stimulates it to alter the existing order of things and remove capitalism by revolution. The proletarians have nothing but the chains of capitalist slavery. Since private ownership of the means of production provides the basis for the exploitation of the worker by the capitalist, the liquidation of this basis and its replacement with public property is the only practical way to emancipate the working class.

The proletariat is the most numerous and constantly growing class in bourgeois society. Large

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx", *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, 1973, p. 582.

numbers of workers are concentrated at major capitalist enterprises. Working together, in a collective, accustoms them to discipline and to mutual assistance. Workers find it easier to act in an organised way, as a collective, and they develop their consciousness and social awareness much sooner than any other oppressed classes and social groups.

This is why only the working class can head the struggle of all working people against exploitation and oppression. The working class is, first and foremost, the principal fighter against capitalism. By emancipating itself, the working class also emancipates all other labour classes and groups of society, including the peasantry and the intelligentsia, from oppression.

At the same time, the working class fights against national oppression. It stands for complete equality and friendship among all big and small nations and national groups. This is why, in their struggle against foreign exploiters, the peoples of colonial and dependent countries rely on the support of the working class of the metropolitan nations. Significantly, their struggle for emancipation and national independence weakens the imperialists and helps the working class fight against capitalism.

Time has borne out the conclusions of the classics of Marxism-Leninism about the role of the working class in the revolutionary remodelling of

capitalist society. To-day, the working class is a mighty, active social force of hundreds of millions of people. The ranks of the working class are growing all the time. Its labour is responsible for three quarters of the world's production. The working class today, in a much larger measure than ever before, acts as a spokesman for the interests of the overwhelming majority of working people.

The Class Struggle of the Working Class

The history of all societies that ever existed, starting with the slave-owning society, has been the history of the struggle of social classes, the struggle between exploited and exploiters, oppressed and oppressors. Under capitalism, the historical arena is dominated by the proletariat which, by emancipating itself from the exploiter class, eventually emancipates the whole society from exploitation.

The greatest contribution to the theory of classes and the class struggle was made by Karl Marx who wrote: "As to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering either the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic

anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to demonstrate: 1) that the *existence of classes* is merely linked to *particular historical phases in the development of production*, 2) that class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes and to a classless society.*" [1]

The class struggle of the proletariat cuts across the entire bourgeois society in three main directions: economic, political, and ideological.

The economic struggle of the proletariat is the struggle for higher wages, for a shorter working day, for better labour conditions, for social ensurance and pensions, for participation in industrial management. It goes without saying that in substance these aspirations are directed against the domination of the monopolies. The struggle for the realisation of these demands erodes the mainstays of the capitalist system, destabilising it more and more. It also lays the groundwork for the main mission of the working class: revolutionary transformation of society.

In the present-day conditions the class struggle of working people has entered a new phase, linked with:

– the baneful consequences of the militarisa-

[1] "Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer in New York, March 5, 1852", in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 64.

tion of the national economy, which hold back the solution of acute economic and social problems, primarily those of unemployment, inflation, erosion of social security;

– the need to curb the extensive onslaught by the ruling quarters on the economic gains and democratic rights of working people;

– the changing character of the economic struggle which increasingly transcends the limits of individual factories and plants, companies and whole industries to grow into wider confrontation with the entire state-monopoly system;

– growing class consciousness of the proletariat.

Political struggle is a struggle against the power of the bourgeoisie and its anti-popular policies, for democratic rights and freedoms, for the total abolition of exploitation. In the course of the class struggle the demands made by the working people assume ever wider political dimensions. The aim of the political struggle is to abolish the class domination of the bourgeoisie and to establish the power of the proletariat in one form or another.

There are many types of political struggle: political demonstrations and industrial actions, participation in elections to state bodies or the boycott of such elections, parliamentary forms of struggle, and finally, the revolutionary struggle for political power in the country. The leaders of political struggle are the Marxist-Leninist parties

which are destined to consummate the class battles of the proletariat by establishing a dictatorship of the working class.

Ideological struggle is a struggle against spiritual and intellectual oppression by the bourgeoisie, a struggle to spread Marxist-Leninist ideology in the consciousness of working people, that ideology which is a theoretical expression of their interests. A spontaneous working-class movement cannot work out an advanced and progressive socialist ideology. Only a Marxist-Leninist party can do it. Socialist ideology combines the theory of scientific communism with the working-class movement and in this way turns the spontaneous struggle of the proletariat into a conscious victorious struggle.

A fierce struggle is going on in the world today between two antithetic ideologies – socialist and bourgeois. This struggle reflects, in the intellectual life of society, the historical process of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The Party of the Working Class – the Party of a New Type

In order to transform capitalist society into a socialist society in a revolutionary way, the proletariat needs an independent political party. This party is the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party,

the vanguard of the working class, i. e. its advanced and politically aware segment. The party stands up for the interests of the proletariat and voices its aspirations most fully and consistently.

Frederick Engels wrote, "For the proletariat to be strong enough to win on the decisive day it must – and Marx and I have advocated this ever since 1847 – form a separate party distinct from all others and opposed to them, a conscious class party." The class-oriented policy of the proletarian party consists in this: that any political actions may be taken "provided that the proletarian class character of the Party is not jeopardised thereby" [1]. In other words, without a proletarian party which is aware of its class identity and which is antithetic to all bourgeois parties, there can be no victorious revolution, no socialism.

As the advanced detachment of the working class equipped with a revolutionary theory, the Communist Party plays a leading role with relation to all other organisations of the working class. The Communist Party unites the forces of the working class and its allies, directs them towards its ultimate goal: the overthrowing of the old exploiter system and the building of a new society.

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[1] "Engels to Gerson Trier in Copenhagen, December 18, 1889", in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 386, 387.

The first genuinely revolutionary party of the working class, a new type of party was set up in Russia. This Leninist party led the country in the socialist revolution and in the building of a new society.

What makes the party of a new type different from other parties is that it

– is guided by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and develops it creatively, ensures the organic fusion of revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice;

– is the collective political leader of the working class, the highest form of its organisation, vanguard of all working people; the party's close links with the masses is the source of its inexhaustible strength;

– operates in line with the principles of democratic centralism, incessantly works to consolidate the ideological and organisational unity of its ranks and conscious discipline, promotes the activeness of its members;

– is unyielding in its opposition to any factionalism, revisionism, political opportunism and dogmatism;

– critically analyses the results of its activities to transform society in a revolutionary way, the results of its policy, studies, assesses and applies the experience accumulated by the international communist and working-class movement;

– consistently implements the principles of

proletarian internationalism.

The historical correctness of the party of a new type has been put to a severe test and borne out in practice. It has been proven by the building of a socialist society in the USSR and in a number of countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America.

Theory of Socialist Revolution

Inevitability of Socialist Revolution

Socialist revolution is the most profound social upheaval in the history of class society, the means of transition from capitalism to socialism. This is the most crucial stage of the working people's class struggle against capitalism and for the establishment of a socialist system. Socialist revolution is inevitable because it stems from the objective laws governing the development of capitalist society and is carried out by the revolutionary masses headed by the working class under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.

The fact that socialist revolution is inevitable and unavoidable stems from a number of objective reasons. This, in the first place, is the conflict between the social character of production and the capitalist system of ownership. The gigantic growth of productive forces of society comes increasingly into conflict with the capitalist produc-

tion relations. The only solution to this contradiction is socialist revolution.

Socialist revolution begins with the winning by the working class and its allies of political power in the country, with the break-down of the bourgeois state machine (which is the main instrument of the political power of the bourgeoisie), with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Historical experience shows that a revolutionary situation is necessary for the winning of political power by the working class. The doctrine of a revolutionary situation is an important component of V. I. Lenin's theory of socialist revolution.

Proceeding from his conclusion that imperialism is the eve of socialist revolution, V. I. Lenin studied and described the objective conditions which made this revolution possible and necessary. He found that revolutions do not get born of their own, that they cannot be brought forth artificially or imported from other countries. A revolution cannot be made "anywhere" and "at any time" just because some revolutionary groups may wish to carry it out. A revolution must first mature deep inside society. Such objective conditions for a revolution, which take shape regardless and independently of the will of individual political leaders or parties, are what V. I. Lenin called a "revolutionary situation".

What are the hallmarks of a revolutionary sit-

uation? Replying to this question V. I. Lenin singled out three major symptoms: "(1) when it is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their rule without any change; when there is a crisis, in one form or another, among the 'upper classes', a crisis in the policy of the ruling class, leading to a fissure through which the discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes burst forth. For a revolution to take place, it is usually insufficient for 'the lower classes not to want' to live in the old way; it is also necessary that 'the upper classes should be unable' to live in the old way; (2) when the suffering and want of the oppressed classes have grown more acute than usual; (3) when, as a consequence of the above causes, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses, who uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed in 'peace time', but, in turbulent times, are drawn both by all the circumstances of the crisis *and by the 'upper classes' themselves* into independent historical action." [1]

But these objective conditions will not produce a revolution all on their own. To achieve this it is necessary that the revolutionary class be equal to mass revolutionary action, that the party should rally the working masses together, that the correct choice be made of the precise time a revolu-

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, 1977, pp. 213-214.

tionary uprising should start, that this uprising be carried through to victory. Revolution is not only a science, but also an art. To bring a revolution to a successful conclusion, it is necessary to link the objective and subjective conditions so that the unity of all these conditions will culminate in a national crisis. This is the principal law of revolution.

V. I. Lenin formulated the proposition about the weak link in the chain of imperialism, the exact place in its system where its contradictions are at their most acute, where the forces of the proletariat and its allies are the strongest. In such countries revolution matures faster than in others.

The Driving Forces of Revolution

The main driving force and leader of socialist revolution is the working class. The appalling living and working conditions under capitalism cause it to build up physical stamina, courage, solidarity, ability to organise, i. e. the revolutionary qualities which they need for carrying out a socialist revolution. The revolutionary role of the proletariat is far greater than its numerical strength in the total population of the country. This is so because the proletariat is the main productive force of capitalism and because it expresses the economic and political interests of

the vast majority of the working population.

The working class is not alone in its struggle for socialism. Other social groups of the working population – peasants, professionals, oppressed nationalities – all have a stake in the triumph of a new social system.

The experience of all revolutions of the twentieth century proved the correctness of the Leninist theory of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. Victory was assured where the peasants, together with the working class, rose up in struggle, where, at the very start of the revolution and in the course of its further development, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, an alliance in which the proletariat played the leading role, went from strength to strength. This is very important, because in countries with a predominantly peasant population, an action taken only by a numerically small working class, without allies, cannot be victorious. For example, the Russian proletariat under the leadership of the Communists gradually won the peasants away from the bourgeoisie and turned them into its ally. On its part, the peasants became convinced that they could achieve success only in alliance with the working class.

A socialist revolution can be peaceful or not peaceful, depending on the historical situation and on the armed resistance of the bourgeoisie. It would, of course, be better if socialist revolution

were peaceful. But, the truth of the matter is that the capitalists do not give up their power without fighting. This is why the proletariat is compelled to use force, including armed force, to win it.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism attached great significance to armed insurrection as an open action by certain classes and social forces against the existing political power of the bourgeoisie. They regarded it as an art, subject to certain rules:

– never play with insurrection until it has matured objectively;

– bring strong odds at a decisive place at a decisive moment, otherwise the opposing forces, with their advantages of training and organisation, will suppress the uprising;

– once the uprising has started, act with the greatest determination, and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed rising;

– prepare new successes, however small but daily; keep up the moral ascendant.

Given favourable conditions, the working class, in alliance with non-proletarian sections, can accomplish socialist revolution by mass struggle in a peaceful way. Such conditions include a minimum of democratic freedoms which afford broader possibilities for the organisation and rallying of the working class and its allies.

What Differs Socialist Revolution from Other Revolutions?

Socialist revolution differs fundamentally from all other, earlier revolutions. In the first place, the revolutions of the past merely replaced one form of exploitation with another, while socialist revolution puts an end to exploitation and ushers in an era of genuine brotherhood and equality among people.

Although working people took an active part in bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic revolutions, they did not play a leading role in them, but were actually deceived by the results of the revolution, for the simple reason that it merely replaced the feudal forms of exploitation with capitalist. In socialist revolution, the working class acts as the leader and organiser of the revolution. Proletarian revolution is the revolution of the working masses themselves. They bring it to effect in order to establish their own domination.

The ultimate goal of bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic revolutions was to put an end to feudalism which stood in the way of capitalism. However, capitalist production relations themselves emerged and developed within the framework of feudalism. That was possible because bourgeois and feudal forms of ownership are merely two forms of private property.

Socialist production relations cannot arise

within the capitalist system, but only after the working class has taken political power, when capitalist-owned factories, plants, transport, banks, etc. have been nationalised and turned into public socialist property. What is more, the transition to socialism calls for reorganisation of the economic life of the people. It is also necessary to remodel social and political relations on socialist lines to accomplish complex tasks not only in the sphere of the economy and politics, but also in matters of culture, education, to name but a few.

The central question of revolution is that of winning state power. In the revolutions of the past, the new class took over power and then adjusted the old state apparatus to its own needs. In socialist revolution, the working class cannot follow this path and use the bourgeois state apparatus, because the principal function of this apparatus is to keep working people in subjugation to the capitalists. This is why in socialist revolution the old state machine has to be smashed and replaced by new socialist state bodies.

Thus the fundamental distinctions between socialist revolution and bourgeois-democratic revolution are as follows:

First, the principal goal of socialist revolution is to turn private ownership of the means of production into social ownership and to put an end to the exploitation of man by man, whereas bour-

geois revolution merely replaces feudal private ownership and feudal exploitation with capitalist.

Second, socialist production relations do not arise within capitalism, whereas capitalist production relations take shape and develop spontaneously already within feudalism.

Third, socialist revolution begins with the winning of political power, while bourgeois revolution is concluded by it.

General Laws Governing the Transition of Different Countries to Socialism, and Different Forms of This Transition

Essence of the Transition Period

As we have pointed out earlier capitalism created its own grave-digger, the proletariat, and also some elements of the new system. However, without proletarian revolution these individual elements do not change order of things and do not affect capitalist domination. It is only the victory of socialist revolution and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship that open the way to socialist changes in the economic, sociopolitical and intellectual spheres of life.

The logic of reality is such that the socialist transformation of each individual country requires a special transition period. This period

cannot be either bypassed or skipped, even if all the material conditions of socialism are available. Karl Marx wrote that "between capitalist and communist society lies the period of revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.*" [1] The classics of Marxism-Leninism previsioned that the transition from capitalism to communism would go through the three objectively bound and historically legitimate periods; 1) the transition period, 2) the phase of socialism, 3) the phase of communism.

The transition period is necessary because no ready forms of socialist production relations can emerge within the capitalist system. To create such relations, a whole historical epoch is needed (the length of a transition period varies from country to country), when new social relations are formed, when the last exploiter classes and any exploitation of man by man are liquidated, when a new socialist economy is set up. This cannot be achieved all at once, because the very process of transition spans a long historical period.

The complex tasks of the transition period are

[1] Karl Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Programme", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. Three, p. 26.

accomplished in the conditions of a fierce class struggle between socialism and capitalism. Summing up the two years of the existence of Soviet power V. I. Lenin wrote, "This transition period has to be a period of struggle between dying capitalism and nascent communism—or, in other words, between capitalism which has been defeated but not destroyed and communism which has been born but is still very feeble." [1]

The period of transition from capitalism to socialism begins with the establishment of the proletariat's political domination and ends with the creation of a socialist economy, with the final and complete liquidation of capitalist elements in town and countryside. In the Soviet Union the transition period lasted from the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 to the late 1930s. This was so because of the general economic, technical and cultural backwardness inherited from pre-Soviet Russia, the preponderance of small-commodity production, the fact that at that time the USSR was the only socialist country in the world.

In some other socialist countries of Europe the transition period was shorter. It depended on the level of development of production forces, on the

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, 1977, p. 107.

degree of socialisation of the means of production, on the correlation of class forces, on national and historical traditions, on the consolidation of the world system of socialism, the international situation, etc.

Operating in any country in transition from capitalism to socialism are the laws and specific features common to all socialist nations. The laws governing the development of socialist society include some under which political power resides in the hands of the people, with the working class playing the leading part; leadership of the development of society is exercised by the Communist Party equipped with the ideology of scientific socialism; public ownership of the basic means of production underlies the planned and systematic growth of the national economy in the interests of the people; the realisation of the principle, "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work"; development of socialist democracy; equality and friendship of all nations and nationalities; defence of revolutionary gains against encroachments by class enemies.

In the sphere of cultural and intellectual life the general law of the transition to socialism is the accomplishment of cultural revolution which comprises the introduction of universal public education, the creation of an intelligentsia dedicated to the cause of socialism, and the establishment of socialist ideology.

The general laws of the transition from capitalism to socialism manifest themselves in different ways in each individual country. The specific conditions of different countries modify the operation of the general laws of socialist construction and affect the content, forms and pace of the transition to socialism. V. I. Lenin wrote that "all nations will arrive at socialism – this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life." [1]

No road to socialism is possible outside these general laws discovered by Marxism-Leninism and confirmed by the experience of the USSR and other countries of existing socialism, by the internationalist practice of the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction. Nor can there be any progress along this path without consideration given to the specific national features of each individual country.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, 1977, pp. 69-70.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The main substance of socialist revolution is the overthrow of the old state apparatus and its replacement with the political domination of the working class – dictatorship of the proletariat. The question of proletarian dictatorship is one of the key provisions in the theory of scientific communism, because it is impossible to build socialism without such dictatorship. Frederick Engels wrote that the dictatorship of the proletariat is that only instrument "by means of which the victorious working class can exert its newly conquered power, keep down its capitalist enemies and carry out that economic revolution of society without which the whole victory must end in a defeat and in a massacre of the working class like that after the Paris Commune." [1]

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the state power of the working class exercised in alliance with all working masses for suppressing the resistance of the exploiters and for building a socialist society.

Its principal tasks in the transition period are:

– to break the resistance of the overthrown exploiter classes;

– to effect socialist changes in the economic, socio-political and cultural spheres, to improve

[1] "Engels to Phil van Patten in New York, April 18, 1883", in: Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 341.

the material position of the working masses;

– to draw the peasants and other sections of the working population into socialist construction, to consolidate the alliance of the proletariat with the peasants;

– to defend the country against foreign intervention, to strengthen the internationalist links with the working class of other countries, to fight for peace and international cooperation, to help the national liberation movement.

When the working class took over state power, it proceeded to build a new society together with all working people of the country, in the face of the resistance of the deposed exploiter classes. This is why one of the key tasks of proletarian dictatorship, and its hallmarks, is suppression of the exploiter classes. Proletarian dictatorship is a continuation of the class struggle in new conditions and in new forms.

Marxism-Leninism dismisses the concept of proletarian dictatorship as a political system of violence. V. I. Lenin explained that "revolutionary violence was a necessary and legitimate weapon of the revolution only at definite stages of its development, only under definite and special conditions." [1] Alongside the suppression of the resistance of the exploiters "another task comes to

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Speech in Memory of Y. M. Sverdlov at a Special Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Com-

the forefront just as inevitably and ever more imperatively as time goes on, namely, the more important task of positive communist construction, the creation of new economic relations, of a new society." [1]

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a new type of democracy. The socialist revolution puts state power into the hands of the overwhelming majority of the population over the minority. This means that the dictatorship of the proletariat assures the working people of all political and social rights.

The enemies of socialism regard dictatorship and democracy as mutually exclusive. In their view, the dictatorship of the proletariat amounts to a negation of democracy, to violence over people. The enemies of socialism pass the curtailment by the proletarian state of democracy for the exploiters for absence of democracy. At the same time, they defend the bourgeois system and pose as champions of "complete", "pure" democracy, a democracy for all. It stands to reason that in a society divided into classes with antithetical interests, there can be no "supra-class", "complete" or "pure" democracy, just as there can be no equal-

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mittee, March 18, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, 1977, p. 89.

[1] V. I. Lenin, "A Great Beginning", *Collecied Works*, Vol. 29, 1977, p. 419.

ity between exploiters and exploited. The whole question boils down to this: for what class does democracy exist, which class exercises dictatorship over which, i. e. who holds political and state power and in whose interests it is exercised.

In the course of the building of a socialist society the dictatorship of the proletariat is exercised with the help of political departments and mass organisations (the Communist Party, Soviets, trade unions, the Young Communist League, etc.). All these organisations, departments and institutions constitute the system of proletarian dictatorship.

The party of Communists is the cementing and principal force of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The party guides the activities of all other working people's organisations and directs them down the road of socialist construction. V. I. Lenin wrote that the "dictatorship of the proletariat would not work except through the Communist Party".[1] To make a good leader the party must have a good knowledge of Marxist theory and be closely linked with the people. The party is called upon to teach the masses and to learn from the masses to see to it that the party will always remain ideologically sound and pure and that its unity will never deteriorate. In the

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.), March 8-16, 1921", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, 1977, p. 199.

course of socialist construction the role of the Marxist-Leninist party grows in importance.

In different countries proletarian dictatorship takes different forms. In the Soviet Union, for instance, it took the shape of Soviets, and in other socialist countries – organs of people's democracy. In their class nature and in the tasks and functions they are to perform the Soviets and the bodies of people's democracy are very similar. Actually, their only difference lies in the forms of political organisation of society and the forms of state structure. The specific features of the countries of people's democracy as a form of proletarian dictatorship are as follows. Some of these countries have, in addition to Communist Parties, other parties which take part in the running of the state in the interests of socialism. A number of countries of people's democracy have a popular front which includes, besides the Communist Parties, democratic parties, trade unions, cooperative societies, and youth leagues.

The experience of people's democracy and the experience of the Soviets are of major significance for the international working-class and national-liberation movements. Future revolutions may produce yet still other political forms of transition from capitalism to socialism. Different as these forms may be, the political power of the working class, headed by the Marxist-Leninist party, is an indispensable condition and a prerequisite for the

building of a socialist society. The final document of the international conference of communist and workers' parties held in 1969 points out that socialist changes and the building of a new society are a complicated and long process and that the Communist Parties, which are at the helm of the ship of state, and their ability to solve the problems of socialist development are primarily responsible for the utilisation of the tremendous potential offered by the new socio-political system.

Chapter Five

MARXISM-LENINISM – THE POWERFUL FORCE FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY RENOVATION OF THE WORLD

Being an all-embracing doctrine Marxism-Leninism has substantiated the transitory character of capitalism and the unavoidable ultimate triumph of socialism, and later of communism. Under the banners of socialism cardinal revolutionary changes are taking place in the modern world. Having taken a firm grip of the minds and hearts of millions of working people in all parts of the world, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have become a mighty material force capable of transforming the whole world.

In the socialist community countries Marxism-Leninism guides the creative activities of the masses building a new society

whose motto is: "Everything for the good of man, everything in the name of man".

In capitalist countries Marxism-Leninism serves as a weapon in the hands of the working class and all working people fighting against capitalist rule, against the exploitation of man by man and against social iniquities.

For the peoples of developing countries, Marxism-Leninism is the reliable compass showing them the way to eradicate the remnants of colonialism, to put an end to poverty and backwardness, to withstand the oppressive policies of the leading capitalist states, to carry out progressive social changes.

Shortly before the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, V. I. Lenin summed up the triumphs of Marxism in the 19th century and voiced his firm conviction that "a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the coming period of history" [1]. The transition of all humanity from capitalism to socialism which is now in progress and the growing world-wide revolutionary process point to the correctness of Marxism-Leninism. Life itself has borne out V. I. Lenin's vision.

Marxism-Leninism is a genuinely scientific theory of social development. It reflects the fun-

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx", *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, 1973, p. 585.

damental interests of working people, the ideals of social justice. Its vitality lies in its perpetual youth, in its inexhaustible ability to develop itself, to creatively systematise and utilise new facts and phenomena, sum up the experience of revolutionary struggle and social change.

Great October and Real Socialism

The Greatest Revolution in History

On the night of October 25 (November 7 in the new calendar), 1917, the cruiser *Aurora* fired its historic artillery salvo to signal the triumphant assault on the Winter Palace, the last bulwark of the Russian bourgeois government. At this very time the Petrograd Soviet opened its extraordinary session at which V. I. Lenin summed up the events with ultimate clarity and precision: "The workers' and peasants' revolution, about the necessity of which the Bolsheviks have always spoken, has been accomplished." [1]

This is how the American journalist Albert Williams described these unforgettable events. "While a tumultuous, singing throng of workers and soldiers, flushed with the triumph of their

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Meeting of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, October 25 (November 7), 1917", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, 1972, p. 239.

Revolution, jammed the great hall of Smolny, while the guns of the *Aurora* were heralding the death of the old order and the birth of the new, Lenin quietly stepped upon the tribune and the Chairman announced, 'Comrade Lenin will now address the congress.'

"We strained to see whether he would meet our image of him, but from our seats at the reporters' table he was at first invisible. Amidst loud cries, cheers, whistles and stamping of feet he crossed the platform, the demonstration rising to a climax as he stepped upon the speaker's rostrum not more than thirty feet away. Now we saw him clearly and our hearts fell.

"He was almost the opposite of what we had pictured him. Instead of looming up large and impressive he appeared short and stocky. His beard and hair were rough and unkempt.

"After stilling the tornado of applause he said, 'Comrades, we shall now take up the formation of the Socialist State'." [1]

The Great October Socialist Revolution was a law-governed result of social development, of the class struggle in the conditions of monopoly capitalism. Its victory brought about the world's first socialist state.

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[1] Albert R. Williams, *Through the Russian Revolution*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973, p. 24.

Prior to the victorious October Revolution, V. I. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party he was the founder of, had carried out a titanic job in the sphere of the theory and practice of the revolutionary battles of the proletariat. Having studied the experience of the Paris Commune (1871), V. I. Lenin continued and extended the teachings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels about class struggle to new historical conditions. He personally directed the First People's Revolution in Russia in 1905-1907. In spite of its defeat that revolution enriched the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and served as a kind of dress rehearsal of the Great October Revolution. The First Russian Revolution equipped the masses with tremendous political experience, and raised them to the level of creators of history itself. New forms, ways and means of class struggle were discovered. For the first time the working people used such a mighty weapon as a mass political action. In December, 1905, they started an armed uprising in Moscow. In V. I. Lenin's words, the people got their baptism of fire in that uprising which produced the fighters who eventually won out in 1917.

The Great October Socialist Revolution appeared to the world as the model for solving the key social problems: the overthrow of the power of exploiters and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat, the transformation of pri-

vate bourgeois-land-owners' property into public, socialist property, a just settlement of the agrarian issue for the benefit of the peasants, the emancipation of the dependent nations from colonial and national oppression, the creation of political and economic prerequisites for the building of a socialist society.

The triumph of the October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new era in world history, the era of the collapse of capitalism and the building of a communist society. That was the most dramatic revolutionary leap in world history. That was the first time when an exploiter system was liquidated over a large part of the world. "We are entitled to be proud and to consider ourselves fortunate that it has come to our lot to be the first to fell in one part of the globe that wild beast, capitalism, which has drenched the earth in blood, which has reduced humanity to starvation and demoralisation," [1] V. I. Lenin wrote.

The October Socialist Revolution was of world-wide significance because it not only brought the popular masses genuine freedom, and not only put an end to the exploitation of man by man, but also provided material wealth for working people, assured them the right to work, public education, rest, etc. Under the ban-

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Prophetic Words", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, 1977, p. 499.

ner of October the country took a giant step from the primitive splinter torch (used to light peasant homes) and kerosene lamp to hydro-power stations and atomic power stations, from the wooden plough and sledge-hammer to electronics and automation. Poverty-stricken and illiterate Russia has since turned into a state with a powerful industry and collective farming, a country of the first man-made earth satellites and space flights.

The Great October Socialist Revolution gave a powerful impetus to the world-wide revolutionary struggle. Flashes of lightning of the October Revolution storm illuminated the road to the future for many countries. History quickened its pace and was now moving in seven-league strides. The process of the revolutionary renovation of the world that began in 1917, brought about fundamental changes in the life of humanity and indeed transformed the entire socio-political make-up of the globe.

The October Revolution stimulated the struggle of the international proletariat who set out to achieve its aims still more vigorously and single-mindedly. Their political consciousness matured and so did their ability to organise; the proletariat became an important force which made an increasingly great impact on the life of modern society. The proletariat, under the leadership of communist parties, has become the principal

fighter against imperialism, for democracy and socialism.

The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia sparked off revolutionary actions in many colonial and dependent countries. The rising tide of the national liberation movement has weakened the capitalist system as a whole and in this way has helped the proletariat to fight for its rights in the leading capitalist countries.

The international significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution is primarily that it showed all mankind the road to socialism. Each country that has embarked upon this path resolved its problems in its own way. There are, however, some features of socialist transformation common to all countries:

– the principal question of the revolution remains to be the question of state power. It is either the state power in the hands of the working class acting in alliance with the entire working population, or the state power of the bourgeoisie. There is no third alternative;

– transition to socialism is possible only if the working class and its allies use the political power they have gained for the liquidation of the socio-economic domination of capitalists and other exploiters;

– socialism can win, if the working class and its vanguard, the Communists, succeed in inspiring and uniting the working masses in their effort to

build a new society, to transform the economy and all social relations in line with socialist principles;

– socialism can take root only if the state power of the working people succeeds in defending the revolution against any class enemy attacks.

Those are just some of the lessons of the October Revolution which confirm its international significance. These conclusions bear out V. I. Lenin's predictions that the Russian model showed all countries something very substantial that they would soon see in their countries.

By its very nature the Great October Socialist Revolution is profoundly internationalist and it has made a tremendous impact on the life of all mankind. There is no force in the world – whatever calamities and sufferings it could inflict upon millions and hundreds of millions of people – that will ever take away the principal gains of the October Revolution. Its ideas, the ideas of struggle for freedom and people's happiness are winning the hearts and minds of new hundreds of millions of people, are awakening and raising them in an open struggle against their oppressors.

Real Socialism in the Homeland of Leninism

As the result of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution the working class of

Russia took power into its hands and set up its political domination. The workers used Soviet power first and before all as the lever for remodelling the old economy and building a new, socialist one. They carried out socialist nationalisation which amounted to the confiscation of the wealth the bourgeoisie had amassed: factories, plants, coal-mines, etc. Nationalisation also made the banks, railway transport and means of communication the property of the people and socialised the means of production.

An important component of the building of a socialist society in Russia was the implementation of radical agrarian reforms. The socialist state took the land, livestock and farm implements away from big land-owners without compensation and turned it all over to the peasants. In her *Reminiscences of V. I. Lenin*, Nadezhda Krupskaya, Soviet state and party leader and V. I. Lenin's wife, gave this description of the Second Congress of Soviets (October 26, 1917) which adopted the decree on land: "I remember Ilyich making a speech, calmly arguing the details of the decree on land. The audience was tense, listening. As he read out the text of the decree, I was looking at the people around. The face of one of the delegates nearby caught my eye. He was a middle-aged man in peasant clothes. The excitement of the occasion rendered his features translucent, and his eyes streamed with light."

The peasants' age-long dream about land had finally come true. This fact strengthened the alliance of the working class with the peasantry.

The working people of Soviet Russia got down to the building of a new life against tremendous odds which were complicated by the backwardness inherited from tsarist Russia. The First World War (1914-1918) set Russia's national economy still further back. The country was in the grip of economic dislocation and was confronted by the dilemma: either collapse altogether or entrust its destiny to the most revolutionary class for its quick and radical transition to a higher mode of production.

The young Soviet state had to deal with economic backwardness, foreign military intervention, a civil war, an economic blockade and many other trials. The working class and the Communist Party needed a wise, far-sighted policy fortitude, patience, organisational talent and a firm belief in their own strength. The Soviet people proved up to this historic task.

V. I. Lenin once compared the building of a new life with climbing up a very high, steep and unexplored mountain. He spoke about the selfless struggle of the Soviet state against the difficulties in its way, about the enemies who cherished hopes that the young Soviet republic would soon fall into a precipice to its death. V. I. Lenin wrote: "They do not conceal it; they chuckle

gleefully and shout: 'He'll fall in a minute! Serve him right, the lunatic!' Others ... moan and raise their eyes to heaven in sorrow, as if to say: 'It grieves us sorely to see our fear justified! But did not we, who have spent all our lives working out a judicious plan for scaling this mountain, demand that the ascent be postponed until our plan was complete?'' [1]

But the Communist Party led the people in an assault against the old regime. The CPSU was guided by Lenin's plan of the building of socialism in the USSR. This plan, like a torch, illuminated for the working people the road to socialism and strengthened their confidence in the great cause of the party.

In January-February, 1923, when his condition showed a slight improvement after a long and severe illness, V. I. Lenin dictated his last several articles: "Pages from a Diary", "On Co-Operation", "Our Revolution", "How We Should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection", "Better Fewer, but Better". V. I. Lenin considered that Russia had enough potential for the building of a socialist society. In his view, socialism could be built only on the basis of large-scale machine industry. He believed that the socialist industrialisation of the country, the

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Notes of a Publicist", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, 1973, pp. 204, 205.

steady development of heavy industry, and the electrification of the entire national economy would reshape Russia and make it a great socialist power. Particular significance in Lenin's programme for socialist construction was attached to the state plan for the electrification of the country (GOELRO) adopted in 1920. Lenin's formula, "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country", was put at the basis of development of the new socialist state.

The socialist transformation of agriculture, and the cultural revolution were both carried out as planned.

The heroic labour of the Soviet people and the tremendous efforts of the Communist Party brought about fundamental changes in the life of the country. Thousands of industrial enterprises and indeed whole industries, unknown in pre-Soviet Russia, sprang up all over the country. New cities and industrial centres emerged on the map. Thousands of kilometres of newly built railway lines stretched across the USSR. New coal- and ore-mines, blast furnaces and open-hearth furnaces built by Soviet people were put into service.

The country, which the Russian poet Nikolai Nekrasov (1821-1877) described thus: "You're poor and you're abundant, you're mighty and you're weak, Mother Russia", became one of the most powerful nations in the world. A highly developed industry and advanced socialist agri-

culture were built in the Soviet Union. A firm foundation of a socialist economy was laid, which gave reason for the Seventeenth Party Conference held in 1932 to set this down for the record: "The completion of the building of the foundations of socialism in the USSR means that Lenin's question, 'who will win?' has been resolved against capitalism and in favour of socialism fully and irrevocably both in town and countryside."

The socialist transformation of the USSR assured the domination of socialist production relations, with capitalists, merchants and kulaks eliminated as exploiter classes. By 1928, the proportion of capitalist elements had falled to 4.6 per cent, and later, in 1937, they disappeared altogether. Thereby all the exploiter classes were liquidated, thus putting an end to the exploitation of man by man.

There were two friendly classes remaining in the Soviet Union: the working class and the peasantry. These two classes were not what they had been before. The building of a socialist society brought the working class and the collective farmers closer together, strengthened their alliance and cemented their friendship. A new, people's intelligentsia came to birth. All working people were equally interested in economic progress, in the consolidation of the socialist system, in the development of democracy and culture. The common interests of workers, peasants and the in-

telligentsia served as the basis for the inviolable socio-political and ideological unity of the Soviet people.

In its documents dating back to the late 1930s, the Party concluded that the building of a socialist society in the Soviet Union had in the main been completed. This fact was recorded in the Constitution of the USSR of 1936.

What is socialism? Marxism-Leninism teaches that socialism is the first phase of the communist socio-economic formation. To this V. I. Lenin said: what is generally referred to as socialism Marx terms the "first", or lower, phase of communist society. Inasmuch as all means of production become common property, the term "communism" can well be applied here, provided one bears in mind that this is not yet full communism.

The economic foundation of socialism is public ownership of the means of production in its two forms: state property and cooperative property. Socialism is the society whose motto is "Everything for the good of man, everything for the benefit of man". This is a society in which

– the means of production are in the hands of the people, in which an end has been put to the exploitation of man by man, to social oppression, to the power of the privileged minority, to the poverty and illiteracy of millions of people;

– broad possibilities have been created for the

dynamic, planned and systematic development of productive forces; in which scientific and technical progress does not lead to unemployment, but instead stimulates the well-being of the entire people;

– the right to work and its remuneration in line with the principle "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work" has been enforced; in which the population enjoys such important social benefits as free medical service, education, and low-rent housing;

– the working class, collective farmers and the intelligentsia have formed and consolidated an unbreakable alliance; in which men and women have equal rights and guarantees of its exercise; in which the younger generation looks to their future with confidence; in which the veterans of labour are guaranteed social security;

– national inequality has been eliminated; in which all nations and nationalities enjoy juridical and actual equality;

– true democracy has been established and is being developed: government of the people and by the people; in which citizens enjoy broad and equal rights to participation in the management of production, in the running of public affairs and the affairs of state;

– the ideas of freedom, of human rights, and dignity are filled with real content; in which the unity of rights and duties is assured; in which the

same laws, the same moral code and the same code of discipline apply to each and every citizen; in which increasingly favourable conditions are taking shape for the comprehensive development of the individual;

– the truly humanitarian Marxist-Leninist ideology predominates; in which all sources of knowledge are accessible to the popular masses, in which advanced socialist culture has been created, a culture that absorbs all the best elements of world culture;

– a socialist way of life has taken form, based on social justice, collectivism and comradely mutual assistance, a way of life that gives every individual confidence in his future, that gives him a moral and spiritual uplift as the builder of new social relations, as the builder of his own life;

– the foreign policy rests on the principles of the peaceful co-existence of states, regardless of their social system. This policy is one of struggle for peace.

Improvement of Socialist Society

V. I. Lenin is credited with evolving the theory and practice of socialism. He foresaw that socialism was not a ready-made system, that it would go through several stages (periods) of maturity. The completion of the transition period

from capitalism to socialism opened the phase of socialism.

The country set out building a developed socialist society. This stage (building a developed socialist society) is longer than the transition period and has been going on since the mid-1930s. At its early stage, the building of a developed socialist society was interrupted by the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945). The war was followed by a period of post-war reconstruction and only after that did Soviet society proceed in full force with the building of socialism. In the middle of the 1970s, "the country entered the stage of developed socialism", as is recorded in the new edition of the CPSU Programme.

It is worthy noting that, first, the building of a developed socialist society and its further perfection is being carried out on its own foundation, i. e. on the basis of socialist production relations, in accordance with the general laws and principles inherent in them. Second, developed socialism takes up a historically long period of time in the development of socialism and will have its own periods, its stages of growth. Third, any improvement on developed socialism is at the same time its advance towards communism.

A detailed characterisation of developed socialism and its essence is given in the Constitution of the USSR of 1977. It says that the building of a

developed socialist society is a legitimate stage on the road to communism. At this stage, socialism is developing on its own foundation, which fully opens up the creative forces of the new system, the advantages of the socialist way of life, and which enables working people to make better use of their revolutionary gains.

Socialism is a society which has brought forth mighty productive forces, advanced science and culture, a society that constantly improves the living standard and creates increasingly favourable conditions for the all-round development of the human personality.

Socialism is a society of mature socialist social relations which has produced by bringing together all classes and social groups, through the juridical and factual equality of all nations, big and small, and through their fraternal cooperation a new historical entity – the Soviet people.

Socialism is a society of high standards of organisation, ideological and social awareness of working people – patriots and internationalists.

Socialism is a society whose law of life is the concern of all for the good of everyone and the concern of everyone for the good of all.

Socialism is a society of genuine democracy whose political system assures management of all social affairs, stimulates the ever more active participation of working people in the affairs of the state, whose system combines the genuine rights

and freedoms of citizens with their obligations and responsibilities to society.

The highest aim of the Communist Party's economic strategy has been the steady rise in the material and cultural standards of life for the whole people. The realisation of this goal over the coming period calls for the acceleration of socio-economic development, for all-round intensification of production, for making it more effective on the basis of scientific and technological progress. Plans are afoot for raising productive forces and production relations to a qualitatively new height, for radically speeding up scientific and technological progress, for assuring rapid progress in the strategic directions of economic development, for building up a new production capability equal to the one which has been created over all the preceding years of Soviet power.

Socialism signifies a high degree of maturity of the entire system of social relations which gradually grow into communist relations. Already now Soviet society is a society of a highly developed economy. The national income of the USSR has grown more than 16 times over the pre-war level while its industrial output has, in this period, grown 24 times over. Industrially, the Soviet Union is developing twice as rapidly as the advanced capitalist nations. Today, the USSR produces more cast iron and steel, oil and gas, cement and mineral fertiliser, machine-tools,

tractors and grain harvesters, and many other products and manufactured goods than any other country in the world. New industries have been set up, such as nuclear engineering, space rocketry, electronics, microbiology. Large production amalgamations have emerged, and a ramified network of electric power lines, oil pipelines and gas pipelines has been launched. Irrigation canals have been built over thousands of kilometres, bringing water to drylands, and large-scale amelioration projects have yielded vast tracts of fertile soil. Soviet science and technology have made tremendous headway. The USSR built the first atomic power-station and the first atomic icebreaker, and launched the first man-made satellite. Soviet citizen Yuri Gagarin was the first man to see the earth from space orbit.

Rapid economic progress enabled this country to meet more fully the needs of its citizens. Today, the per capita net income has exceeded the prewar level by more than six times over. Housing construction has assumed truly gigantic proportions. The network of hospitals and polyclinics, kindergartens and nurseries has been expanded.

Today, Soviet society has a high standard of public education and culture. Before the war, only five persons out of a hundred (from amongst those engaged primarily in physical work) had a secondary or university education, whereas today this number has grown to 82.

The USSR has resolved some very important social problems. The alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia has grown stronger. The substantial distinctions between town and countryside, physical and intellectual labour are being eradicated. As big and small nations prosper, they drift closer to one another economically and culturally. As a result, a new social and internationalist community has emerged in the historical arena, a community known as the Soviet people.

Soviet society today is a society of genuine, real democracy, a society where human dignity is respected and the rights of citizens are observed. Working people take an increasingly active part in the affairs of their country, their work collectives. The system of socialist self-government is becoming more and more developed.

All this shows that the road to the communist future lies through all-round improvement of socialism, through implementing the programme endorsed at the 27th CPSU Congress of the acceleration of socialist society socio-economic development.

The road traversed by the Soviet state, its economic, social and cultural achievements, bears out the vitality of Marxism-Leninism, and shows the tremendous potential inherent in socialism.

Prospects for the Building of a Communist Society

V. I. Lenin pointed out that "socialism must inevitably evolve gradually into communism".[1] However, communism grows out of socialism very gradually through comprehensive improvement of developed socialism. This gradualness should be understood in the sense that qualitative changes occur continuously by way of development and improvement of all aspects of social life, and not all at once, in one go, as it were.

The domination of social ownership of the means of production under socialism and communism presupposes the operation of economic laws common to both of them: the basic economic law of socialism, the law of planned and balanced (proportionate) development of the national economy, the law of steady rise in labour productivity, etc. The law of planned and balanced development will fully apply to the highest phase in the planned organisation of social production. As socialism develops more and more, the operation of the economic law of distribution according to the work done will be increasingly linked with the satisfaction of the daily requirements of people out of the social con-

[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, 1980, p. 85.

sumption funds. Under communism, this law will yield ground to the law of distribution according to people's needs.

By creatively advancing the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the CPSU has arrived at the conclusion that the USSR is now at the initial stage of developed socialism, the historical time limits of which can be defined only by practical experience. It will only be, in many long years from now, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, that the new society will eventually grow into a "fully developed, fully stabilised and constituted, fully comprehensive and mature communism" [1].

Communism is a classless social system where the means of production are the property of the whole people, a society where all its members are socially equal, where the harmonious development of people will proceed alongside the growth of productive forces on the basis of constantly developing science and technology. This will create tremendous potential for building up social wealth, which will enable society to enforce the main principle of communism: "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs".

Communism is a highly organised society of

[1] V. I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1977, p. 50.

free, socially conscious working people in which public self-government will be established, a society in which labour for the good of society will become the prime vital requirement of everyone, a necessity recognised by one and all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people.

Communism is the legitimate result and product of historical development. The social life of mankind will rise to a qualitatively still higher plane of human progress, absorbing all that is best and most valuable created by many generations of people over centuries.

All this goes to prove that communism is inevitable because it lies in the mainstream of historical development. Marxism-Leninism has always been and will remain a true science, an unsurpassed art and the instrument of political leadership of the revolutionary-creative activities of the people.

The inexorable replacement of the capitalist socio-economic formation by the communist one is taking place in the form of a world-wide revolutionary process. This process originated and is now developing at the confluence and by interaction of three powerful revolutionary streams: the countries of the socialist community, the international working class and the national liberation movement.

The World System of Socialism – the Decisive Force of the Revolutionary Transformation of the World

Essence, Stages of Development and Principal Features of the World Socialist System

Marxism-Leninism awakened and set in motion mighty forces of social progress. This marked the beginning of the revolutionary renovation of the world. The materialisation of the Marxist-Leninist theory was the creation of the world socialist system, the emergence of which is a law-governed historical process.

In February 1919, V. I. Lenin gave an interview to a French journalist, Ludovic Naudeau. Replying to a question about whom the future of the world would belong to, Lenin said, "The future of the world? I am no prophet. But, I can say with confidence that the old world is doomed. Mankind is inexorably heading for socialism." [1]

The victorious socialist revolutions that took place in a number of European, Asian and Latin American countries were the most important events in world history comparable only to the October Revolution in Russia. Socialism trans-

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[1] *V. I. Lenin. Biographical Chronicle*, Moscow, 1925, Vol. 6, p. 498 (in Russian).

cended the confines of one country and became a world socio-economic system. At the same time, the world of capitalism is gradually shrinking as more and more socialist countries emerge on the map.

The world socialist community is made up of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of China, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, with a total area of 35.2 million square kilometres or almost 30 per cent of the world territory. Its population is almost 1.5 billion, which is over 33.7 per cent of the world population. The socialist community produces 40 per cent of world industrial output, which constitutes 70 per cent of industrial output in the advanced capitalist countries.

"*World socialism* is a powerful international entity with a highly developed economy, substantial scientific resources, and a dependable politico-military potential. It accounts for more than one-third of humanity, for dozens of countries and peoples opening up in every way the intellectual and moral wealth of man and society. A new way of life has taken shape, based on the principles of socialist justice, with neither oppressors nor oppressed, neither exploiters nor exploited, where power belongs to the people. Its

distinctive features are collectivism and comradely mutual assistance, triumph of the ideas of freedom, unbreakable unity between the rights and duties of every member of society, the dignity of the individual, and true humanism," say the 27th CPSU Congress documents.

The emergence of the world socialist system has gone through three stages. The first stage (1945-1949) laid the foundations of the economic, political, ideological and cultural cooperation between the socialist countries. The USSR and the countries of people's democracy signed agreements of friendship and cooperation. Similar agreements were concluded between the People's Democracies themselves. All these treaties and agreements were mostly of bilateral character.

The second stage (1949-1959) was marked for major successes in the building of a socialist society, for the establishment of firm economic, political and cultural ties between the socialist countries, which facilitated the transition from bilateral to multilateral cooperation. Throughout this stage the socialist countries further consolidated their relations in the political sphere, which culminated in the signing, on May 14, 1955, of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. The signatories of this treaty were Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Albania (the latter

formally withdrew from the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in 1968). This defensive treaty was signed as a counterweight to the aggressive NATO bloc. In later years the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation was set up – a collective international body made up of the leaders of the communist and workers' parties, the heads of government, the ministers of foreign affairs and ministers of defence of the Treaty member-states.

The third stage (since 1960) is marked by major achievements in the consolidation of socialism. The USSR now is building developed socialist society, and some of the European socialist countries have also proceeded to the building of developed socialism; in still other countries the foundations of a socialist system are being laid; all socialist countries are strengthening their relations of extensive beneficial cooperation.

The Republic of Cuba embarked upon the road of socialism. The victory of the people's democratic forces enabled North and South Vietnam to unite on a socialist basis. The People's Democratic Republic of Laos, too, joined the family of socialist nations.

The basic features of the world socialist system are as follows. First, it has one type of economic foundation, i. e. the domination of social ownership of the means of production in its two forms: state (belonging to the whole people) property

and cooperative property; social ownership lies at the basis of the socialist system of management. Operating here are the economic laws inherent in socialism, the system of socialist production relations forms within the socialist states, and international economic relations in the spheres of production, distribution and exchange develop. In this economic community there have emerged several general economic patterns, including these: the level of economic development of the socialist countries has become more even, with the least developed growing up to the level of the most developed, the economies of individual countries have been developing towards the creation of one single world socialist economy, towards socialist economic integration.

Second, a characteristic feature of the world socialist system is one-type political power and common ideology. The leading and guiding force of the countries of the world socialist system is their Marxist-Leninist parties which unite, educate and organise all working people and rally them round the working class. The Marxist-Leninist parties also direct the activities of the popular masses towards the solution of the tasks of socialist construction.

The experience of the revolutionary transformation of the world in our epoch suggests the following important lesson. The victories of the Communists of the socialist countries are closely

linked with the principled and creative application of Marxism-Leninism in practice. Mistakes, miscalculations, failures, lags and halts in the development of certain socialist countries occur either because of a poor knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, or because of the failure to follow its precepts, resulting from the pressure of opportunistic ideas or nationalistic aberrations. This might also stem from dogmatic interpretation of Lenin's propositions, or from an awkward and indecisive application of fundamental ideas and principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Third, another notable feature common to the world socialist system as a whole is the concern they all display for the defence of their revolutionary gains, the common goal of the working people of socialist countries in the building of a communist society in each individual country and the strengthening of the world socialist system as a whole, a struggle for the world-wide triumph of communism.

All this goes to show that the world socialist system holds tremendous advantages over capitalism. The socialist system concentrates the progress of mankind over the entire period of its development. It will eventually be established all over the world by replacing the decaying system of capitalism.

These general laws of world socialism operate in all spheres of relations between socialist coun-

tries: economic, scientific, political, in the spheres of ideology and culture.

At the same time, the development of the world socialist system is not free from difficulties and even mistakes. The formation of the world socialist system is a multi-faceted process, involving the resolution of big and small problems, both objective and subjective.

The countries that build up their relations and cooperation often have different economic levels, historico-cultural traditions and ties, social structures, etc. However, the world socialist system rules out the oppression of one nation by another. This is because relations between socialist countries are not trammeled by antagonistic conflicts. Karl Marx had long since written that "for the peoples to be able truly to unite, they must have common interests. And in order that their interests may become common, the existing property relations must be done away with, for these property relations involve the exploitation of some nations by others... The victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie is, at the same time, victory over the national and industrial conflicts which today range the peoples of the various countries against one another in hostility and enmity." [1]

[1] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "On Poland", in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, 1976, p. 388.

Socialist internationalism underlying relations between the socialist countries is an amalgamation of interests of each separate country with the interests of the entire community, a concordance of the national with the international, cooperation and mutual assistance in all spheres of the economy, politics, ideology. Socialist internationalism predicates consistent realisation of the principles of equality of all socialist countries for their mutual benefit, the principles of sovereignty and independence, non-interference in the domestic affairs of one another. These principles are supplemented by comradely mutual assistance, proletarian solidarity and a joint struggle for socialism and communism.

Fraternal Cooperation

The fraternal socialist community of states plays the key role in the development of the world system of socialism. This community not only signals the identity of the national interests of all the socialist countries but also shows that they maintain close friendly ties at party and government level, that they coordinate actions of solidarity in the international arena, promote cooperation in all spheres of politics, economy and culture. More than in any other sphere the socialist character of these relations can be judged in the socialist community of nations. This community embodies a

new socialist type of international relations between sovereign, equal states united by the identity of their interests and goals, by Marxist-Leninist ideology, relations strengthened by the bonds of comradely solidarity and mutual assistance, all-round cooperation.

Today, the socialist community includes the member-states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) set up in 1949. These countries are Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. All of them are equally represented on the Council and have an equal say in all matters under discussion, regardless of area or population. An open organisation, CMEA maintains business-like friendly relations with Yugoslavia and is building up contacts with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Angola and Ethiopia. The CMEA countries have business links with more than 92 developing nations and maintain relations with 60 international organisations.

Under the CMEA Charter, the principal goal of this international organisation is to promote, by pooling and coordinating the efforts of the CMEA countries, the planned development of their national economy, to facilitate economic and technical progress, intensify their industrial progress, assure the continuous growth of labour productivity, boost the living standard.

When CMEA was organised, bourgeois politicians and economists predicted its early demise, or at least its inefficiency and eventual disintegration. The actual facts have proved them wrong.

The CMEA countries have a combined population of 455 million, i. e. about one-tenth of the world population. Their economic output is about 25 per cent of the world national income and accounts for 33 per cent of the world's industrial output. The CMEA countries have one-third of the world's scientific staff and research facilities. The national income of the CMEA countries was in 1984 some 8.6 times as great as it was in 1950, with its industrial output 14 times as great.

The socialist community is an alliance of a new type. It does not merely rest on the identity of the national interests of a group of states, but is, indeed, a fraternal family of nations led by Marxist-Leninist parties, bonded together by a common world outlook, by their common lofty ideals and goals, by relations of comradely solidarity and of mutual assistance. This is an alliance reposing on the abiding unity of their declared positions and actions, which gives added strength to each one of its members for the solution of their national tasks and increases manyfold their combined weight and impact on world affairs.

How is economic cooperation organised among

the CMEA members? In the first place, it rests on the principles of international socialist division of labour, which stems from public ownership of the means of production and from the economic laws of socialism operating within these countries and throughout the whole of the world socialist system. CMEA's economic development is planned, thanks to which each socialist country is assured a guaranteed market for its goods and is, in turn, guaranteed prompt deliveries of the necessary equipment, machines, raw materials, and other means of production from other socialist states. Socialist international division of labour makes better utilisation of national labour and material resources, helps increase production in each individual country, reduce their manufacturing costs and raise the quality and efficiency of labour. This, in turn, promotes expedient and rational distribution of productive forces in the world socialist economy and helps establish the best and most rational economic proportions.

International socialist division of labour in the socialist CMEA member-countries underlies their economic integration. It is said in the 27th CPSU Congress documents: "In economic relations, the CPSU stands for a further deepening of socialist economic integration as the material foundation for a drawing closer together of the socialist countries. Especially important, in its opinion, are a consistent uniting of efforts by the fraternal coun-

tries in key areas of intensification of production and acceleration of scientific and technological progress so as to accomplish jointly a task of historical significance, namely, that of advancement to the forefront of science and technology with the aim of further improving the well-being of their peoples and strengthening their security."

Socialist economic integration is a process of drawing closer together of the CMEA members' economies, which is consciously and in a planned manner regulated by the Communist and Workers' Parties and the governments of the CMEA countries. It also suggests the creation of a modern economic infrastructure, the evening up of their economic development. This integration takes shape on the basis of formation of strong and stable links in the basic spheres of the economy, science and technology, expansion of the international market of these countries and improvement of their commodity-money relations.

The material foundation of socialist economic integration is laid by way of internationalisation of economic life, which is an objective process of promoting, expanding and consolidating economic inter-dependence between these countries through further socialisation of production. Socialist economic integration is a long and complex process. It predicates the ability to find the most rational solutions that can meet the interests

of not only the given country but of all the other members of the community. Socialist economic integration is angled at the latest achievements of science and technology, at the most feasible and promising types of production.

Socialist economic integration is proceeding in breadth and in depth. Today, the attention of the CMEA countries is concentrated on such problems as the development of the power industry, of the fuel and raw materials resources, their rational utilisation; technological progress in mechanical engineering, improvement in the quality of its products; further cooperation in the manufacture of new progressive types of machinery and equipment; expanded range of higher quality consumer goods. To achieve all these objectives the CMEA countries have worked out long-term comprehensive programmes of cooperation.

Over the past several years the CMEA countries have been working out a coordinated plan for multi-lateral integration measures, long-term programmes for specialisation and cooperation of production for 1981-1990, and adopted a joint comprehensive programme for scientific and technological progress of the CMEA countries for the period until the year 2000. This plan is expected to solve such problems as convergence of the economic structures of the CMEA countries, further development of direct links between gov-

ernment ministries, industrial amalgamations and individual enterprises involved in this cooperation. This programme also provides for the creation of joint companies and for some other forms of pooling efforts and resources.

Socialist economic integration helps the CMEA countries to resolve the problems of their own economic development, to promote all forms of economic cooperation. The priorities here are given to the undelayed intensification and effective performance of the economy, the efforts to assure further growth of socialised production as the basis for strengthening the material and technical foundations of socialist society and for further raising the living standard, for improving the quality of production and increasing the output of goods intended for exports. Much significance is attached to rational distribution of productive forces.

The cooperation of the socialist countries is manifold. In the economic sphere this is the development of socialist economic integration. In the socio-political sphere, this is the development and improvement of the socialist system. In foreign policy this is a well coordinated course of action directed at promoting peace and friendship between nations, and at promoting detente. In the sphere of ideology this is a further strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. All the aspects of this process are interlinked.

There are two interacting tendencies in relations between the socialist countries. On the one hand, these countries are seeking to strengthen their economic and political independence, to develop their own national economy and culture. On the other hand, the existing situation impels them to build up broader cooperation and move closer towards one another. The interests of individual countries and the whole of the socialist community are promoted by the harmonious combination of these two processes, by coordination of their national and international objectives.

The varied cooperation and drawing closer of the fraternal countries stems from the objective requirements of developing system of socialism. This cooperation is directed and guided by the ruling communist parties on the basis of the scientific knowledge of the general laws of world socialism. The world system of socialism is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle, the bulwark of peace, democracy and social progress.

International Communist and Working-Class Movement

The Working-Class Revolutionary Movement

Equipped with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the working class has a decisive influence on the course of history and even speeds it up. The con-

clusions made by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and V. I. Lenin on the historic role of the working class have proven true. The working class has shown its ability to fight against the capitalist exploiter system, to lead the struggle of the people for their freedom and equality, to assure the victory of socialism, relying on the vast historical experience of class battles.

As an independent political force the working-class movement emerged in the late 30s and early 40s of the last century, when the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie reached a high pitch of acerbity. The working class achieved a large measure of success in this revolutionary struggle, which culminated in the emergence and consolidation of a world socialist system. The working class, the ruling class of society, has become a powerful force of social progress.

In the industrialised capitalist countries the working class is the main revolutionary force. V. I. Lenin spoke highly of the proletariat of the industrialised nations, noting that they are "our chief hope, our chief support" [1]. This is why in the modern world-wide revolutionary process, the

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Speech to the First All-Russia Congress of Land Departments, Poor Peasants' Committees and Communes, December 11, 1918", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, 1977, p. 348.

struggle of the working class of the capitalist countries for their economic, political and cultural interests, democratic rights and freedoms, for the overthrow of capitalism and for the building of a socialist society is so important.

The tendency of the growth of the working class, of proletarisation of salaried workers and, indeed, of the whole population continues in the epoch of imperialism. In the mid-last century the working class was nine million strong, whereas at the beginning of the 20th century its ranks had grown to about 30 million, and in the early 1980s, to over 600 million. Two-thirds of the gainfully employed population of the industrialised capitalist countries are the working class. But, as Karl Marx once pointed out, "numbers weigh only in the balance, if united by combination and led by knowledge".[1]

What are the objective facts behind the mounting struggle of the working class for the socialist renovation of the world?

Firstly, labour and production under capitalism are becoming increasingly socialised, while the product of this socialised labour continues to be privately owned. V. I. Lenin wrote that

[1] Karl Marx, "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. Two, p. 17.

"capitalism in its imperialist stage leads directly to the most comprehensive socialisation of production; it, so to speak, drags the capitalists, against their will and consciousness, into some sort of a new social order, a transitional one from complete free competition to complete socialisation" [1]. Capitalism is trying to adjust itself to the changing conditions, is looking for the new forms of its domination, and is changing its mimicry. But hard as it tries, capitalism cannot get rid of its inner contradiction.

Secondly, antagonism between labour and capital is growing. The rate of exploitation of the working class is rising, and the gap between wages and monopoly profits is widening. The monopoly bourgeoisie is trying to take away from the working people the gains which they have won in the course of a long and hard struggle.

Thirdly, the contradictions of capitalism stimulate the growth of the class-awareness of working people, their anti-capitalist sentiment. In the final analysis, they awaken the political activeness of the masses and especially that of the working class.

The growing struggle of the working class and of all working people in the capitalist countries

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, 1974, p. 205.

can be judged from the rising tide of strike action. Today, this tide is at its very high peak. The typical feature of the class battles of the 1980s is that the working class has considerably expanded the range of its political demands. The number of people taking part in political action is growing faster than the number of those striking in support of their economic demands. In 1980-1984, about 44 million people drew into political conflicts every year, as compared to a little over 31 million in 1975-1979. Accordingly, the proportion of people taking part in political conflicts with the bourgeoisie in the total number of strikers has also increased: from 55 in 1975-1979 to over 70 per cent in 1980-1984.

The more vigorous struggle of the proletariat has enabled the communist parties to strengthen their positions.

Communist Movement

The true spokesman of the vital interests of the working class and, indeed, of all working people is the communist movement, a political force whose activities strictly accord to Marxism-Leninism and to the objective general laws of social progress. History has proved that only Communist Parties can chart the avenues of social change and steer the masses to revolutionary work.

The communist movement expresses the most advanced, progressive views, directs the struggle for the realisation of the centuries-old dream of mankind – for communism.

The history of the communist movement goes back to 1847 when Karl Marx and Frederick Engels created the first communist organisation, the Communist League and wrote its first policy-making document – the *Communist Manifesto*. The victorious Great October Socialist Revolution gave added strength to the world communist movement. In 1918, there were only ten communist and workers' parties in the world, whereas in 1928, their number stood at 46 and at present communist parties exist in 95 countries. Over sixty-five years (1917-1982) the number of Communists – in spite of the tremendous losses sustained by communist and workers' parties in the struggle against fascism and reaction – increased more than 200 times over: from 300 thousand to almost 78 million.

The growing importance of the world communist movement is an objective general law of present-day social development. This should, in the first place, be explained by the fact that by fulfilling mankind's dream of a society free from exploitation, the Communists translated the theory of scientific socialism into the every-day practice of building socialism and communism; second, the communist parties of the whole world

act as one single united political force as all of them have the same goals to achieve; third, internationalism and the consistent struggle for peace assure the world communist movement the vanguard role in the working-class movement, in democratic and national liberation movements, and in this way have won the sympathies and support of all peace-loving forces. The communist and workers' parties are actively fighting for the rights of all working people, for peace and the security of nations.

Marxism-Leninism is the key source of strength and vitality for the communist movement. The century-long history of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine has proved convincingly that it is the only doctrine capable of charting the avenues and determining the driving forces of social progress. The Communists use the theoretical analysis of the general laws and patterns of social development to provide guidance for the working class in any specific conditions. This enables them to find the correct answer in the most complicated situation to questions raised by life itself. The communist parties are the only force in the world that is equipped with the science-based strategy and tactics of the struggle for revolution, for the triumph of socialism and communism.

The communist movement is internationalist in character. Every party is linked by the bonds of its class kinship, by the identity of its ideological

principles and by the pursuance of its ultimate goals with the communist movement as a whole. At the same time, each one of them operates in a specific situation.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism repeatedly pointed out that the Communists must never lose sight of the principles of internationalism of the working-class movement. They believed that the foundations of policy, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary working-class movement, the principles that arise out of the general laws and patterns of the development of revolution and the building of socialism are inseparable from proletarian internationalism. This is why, relying on the objective general laws of development of human society, the Communists combine this understanding with their knowledge of concrete conditions and traditions obtaining in every individual country. They do not allow the overstatement or understatement of the importance of local national peculiarities. They balance their every step against the realities of the world situation as a whole, acting in full cognizance of their responsibility to the world liberation movement.

By advocating the fraternal unity of the working people of all nations and races, the founders of Marxism-Leninism opposed any discrimination of one people (or group of peoples) over other peoples (or groups thereof). Karl Marx said that

"A people who enslave another people forges its own chains" [1].

The international communist movement is a fraternal militant alliance of independent communist parties fighting for a revolutionary renewal of the world, for the vital interests of working people in line with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Main Detachments of the Communist Movement

The world communist movement can be subdivided into several detachments according to the conditions of struggle and according to the nature of the tasks facing the parties. The most powerful detachment of the world communist movement is the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries.

The leading role here belongs to the CPSU as first among equals. This is the most experienced mass Marxist-Leninist party which leads the effort to improve on mature socialism in the USSR and which stands in the vanguard of the world revolutionary process.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is

[1] Karl Marx, "Der Generalrat an den Föderalrat der romanischen Schweiz", in: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Band 16, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1968, p. 389.

over 19 million strong. The most important activity of the CPSU is to work out long-term plans for the development of Soviet society, to charter the Soviet Union's internal and external policies and to organise working people for the implementation of these policies. The scientific leadership exercised by the CPSU includes the formulation of the basic goals and tasks which accord with the most urgent social requirements, with the fundamental interests of working people. The party takes into consideration the existence of the objective laws of social development, relies on the material and intellectual potential of society, and directs its gigantic strength towards further improvement on mature socialism. It is recorded in the Constitution of the USSR that the CPSU is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, the nucleus of its political system, state and social organisations.

The communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries have tens of millions of Communists in their ranks and constitute the largest and the most influential detachment of the world communist movement. In their own countries these parties are the guiding force in the struggle for socialism and communism. They take up the most complicated and responsible tasks such as to ensure economic progress, to improve on new social relations, to develop the socialist way of life, to intensify the communist education of the

masses, to defend the gains of socialism, etc.

Another major force in the communist movement is the communist parties of capitalist countries. Many of them have a long record of class struggle and today wield considerable influence in political life. Operating in the citadels of imperialism they proceed from the assumption that the main driving and rallying force of the revolutionary struggle is the working class. Also vitally interested in ending the domination of monopoly capital (in addition to the proletariat) are the peasants, the democratic intelligentsia, white collar workers, petty-bourgeois segments of the urban populations, i. e. a great majority of the population of capitalist countries.

The long-term theoretical propositions of radical democratic transformations advanced by the communist parties of capitalist countries in their programmes set forth the following tasks:

– to pursue a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems; to work for the cessation of the arms race, for disarmament; to develop mutually advantageous cooperation and mutual understanding between countries and peoples;

– to protect national sovereignty and national interests from foreign, and primarily against American, imperialism, against encroachments by transnational corporations and state-monopoly amalgamations;

– to nationalise the main sectors of the economy, to assure democratic control by the masses and by mass organisations of working people over nationalised and other enterprises;

– to carry out radical agrarian reforms for the benefit of farmers;

– to reorganise the existing public health service and public education, social security and other services for the benefit of working people;

– to defend and protect national culture, making it accessible to the working people;

– to broaden the participation of working people and their mass organisations in all spheres of life and at all levels ranging from the local to the national;

– to expand individual and collective democratic rights and freedoms; to repeal repressive laws spearheaded against the working class and democratic movement; to curb political terrorism, etc.

The struggle of communist parties in support of these demands raises the prestige of the Communists among the working masses, augments their influence on the working class. The ruling bourgeois quarters of France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Japan and many other capitalist countries no longer can take major political actions without considering the stand of the communist parties. Reactionaries at home and abroad are fiercely opposed to the participation of Communists in

government, which testifies to the growing significance of the communist parties in the political life of capitalist countries, to their popularity and influence with the masses. The Communists of Denmark, Austria, West Germany, Belgium, Norway and some other countries of Western Europe and America are strengthening their influences with the people.

In spite of the activisation of the right extremists and the neo-fascists in this crisis-stricken country, the Communist Party of Italy has considerably strengthened and broadened its socio-political positions. Today the party is about 1.8 million strong and is widely represented at local government bodies. More than half the country's population lives in areas whose executive councils are made up overwhelmingly of Communists and their allies.

The French Communist Party also constitutes a major political force, with its 700,000 members represented at 28,000 grass-roots party organisations operating virtually at all major enterprises, in every French city and rural community. The French Communists wield considerable influence in the trade-union movement, in various mass organisations.

As the most influential political force of our time the communist movement rallies revolutionary forces and whole nations in the struggle against imperialism.

The communist parties of the developing countries of Asia and Africa – another important section of the communist movement – have proved themselves staunch fighters for the complete national liberation. These communist parties are working hard for the final abolition of colonialism and eradication of its consequences, for the creation and consolidation of a broad anti-imperialist, anti-feudal front, for radical social reform.

An increasingly important role is played by the militant detachments of Communists in Latin America and the Caribbean. The communist parties in Latin America have grown to become a major political force. The Communists are building up their strength amidst fierce clashes with domestic and external reaction, shaping conditions for anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutions.

The struggle in Latin America is getting all the more complicated as the peoples of a number of countries here also have to fight against reactionary military regimes. In some countries communist parties have been outlawed and their members driven underground, so that even affiliation to a communist party puts their lives at risk. The Communist Parties of Argentina, Panama, Venezuela, Costa-Rica and Columbia are strengthening their positions. The Communists of Chile are rallying the masses to resist the dictatorial regime. In the harsh conditions of the underground the Communists of Paraguay

and other countries of Latin America are continuing their fight.

Principles of the Strategy and Tactics of Communists

Marxism-Leninism provides the ideological, methodological and practical foundation for the activities of communist and workers' parties. It helps to pinpoint the most important problems linked to these activities without losing sight of the fundamental aspects of the life of society and the class struggle of our time. Marxism-Leninism makes it possible to combine the struggle for short-term immediate goals with the struggle for the ultimate goals; to make an accurate and timely choice of the direction of the main strike; to skilfully apply the different ways and means of struggle, depending on a concrete situation and on the selection of goals; to make use of the contradictions and dissensions within the ranks of the class enemies, to accept compromise as a temporary expedient only when necessary, without conceding the main principles.

Of great significance for the communist movement are international conferences and regional meetings, at which important documents are jointly drafted, formulated and adopted.

On November 14-16, 1957, the Communist

and Workers' Parties of socialist countries held a meeting which adopted the text of the declaration. On November 16-19, 1957, representatives of the communist and workers' parties of sixty-four countries held a conference which endorsed the Peace Manifesto. The said declaration summed up the present-day epoch, analysed the new correlation of forces in the world arena and took up the issue of war and peace. It also formulated the principal general laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, laws common to all countries.

In November, 1960, communist and workers' parties held another meeting. Taking part in it were representatives of eighty-one parties which adopted the texts of the statement and the address to the peoples of the world. In their Statement the communist and workers' parties made important conclusions about the role of the world socialist system as a factor of world development, about the avenues of struggle of all progressive forces of our time for prevention of another world war and for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Other conclusions dealt with the national liberation revolutions after the collapse of the system of colonial slavery, with new possibilities and new tasks of communist and workers' parties in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

In June, 1969, seventy-five communist and

workers' parties held a meeting which adopted a document entitled "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Actions of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces", an address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin". The participants in the meeting issued an appeal, "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam" and an "Appeal in Defence of Peace".

All these documents contain the principles governing relations between communist parties. The most important of these principles are:

– loyalty to Marxism-Leninism; ideological unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism as the underlying foundation for the consolidation of the communist movement;

– proletarian internationalism, concern for the greatest possible cohesion of the communist movement, coordination of efforts in the struggle for common goals; voluntary observance by each Communist Party of the joint evaluations and conclusions which deal with the common objectives in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism; the independence and equality of the Marxist-Leninist parties; each party is entitled to evolve its own policy proceeding from the concrete conditions of its country and following the principles of Marxism-Leninism; each party is responsible to the working class, to the working

people of its country, to the international working-class movement and the communist movement;

– strict observance of Lenin's norms of party-building and party life;

– total rejection of any factionalism within the ranks of the communist movement;

– irreconcilable struggle against right and "left" opportunism, against revisionism, dogmatism and nationalism;

– resolution of any disputes between communist parties only by way of consultation and comradely meetings.

A signal contribution to the unity and cohesion of the communist and working-class movement was the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe (Berlin, June 1976). The participants in the Berlin Conference declared that they "will develop their internationalist, comradely and voluntary cooperation and solidarity on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, strictly adhering to the principles of equality and sovereign independence of each Party, non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for their free choice of different roads in the struggle for social change of a progressive nature and for socialism. The struggle of each Party for socialism in its own country and its responsibility towards the working class and the people of that country are bound up with mutual

solidarity among working people of all countries and all progressive movements and peoples in their struggle for freedom and the strengthening of their independence, for democracy, socialism and world peace." [1]

The conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe held in 1980 gave a new thrust to the struggle against war danger. It stimulated the struggle of the popular masses of Europe against the danger to Europe posed by NATO's decision to deploy new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Of major significance to advancing the activities of the fraternal parties and for coordinating their efforts were regional meetings of the Communist Parties of Latin America (1975), of Central America and Mexico (1974 and 1980), of Arab countries (1976, 1978, and 1981). In September, 1981, representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Countries of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Middle East, and the Red Sea area held their meeting. In 1978, the Communist Parties of tropical and southern Africa held the first such meeting in the history of the continent.

Every year communist parties held hundreds of

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[1] *For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe, Berlin, June 29-30, 1976*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1976, pp. 40-41.

formal bilateral meetings. These and other forms of relationship and cooperation help them build up the strength and influence of the international communist movement.

This active cooperation between communist parties is manifest in their bilateral contacts. In many cases these contacts are maintained at all levels – from party locals to the central ruling bodies. Of particular importance are meetings between party leaders. The international contacts between the Communists of different countries are also stimulated by their mutual participation in party congresses.

Popular with the fraternal parties is their collective theoretical and information journal, *World Marxist Review*, whose editorial board is made up of representatives of almost sixty communist parties. The journal is published in thirty-four languages and is circulated in more than one hundred and forty countries.

The unity of communist parties and their collective actions of solidarity have assured them many victories in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism over the past several years. The CPSU and other fraternal parties show abiding concern for the consolidation of militant internationalist unity of the communist movement.

The cooperation of Communists with other political forces – socialists, social-democrats, religious groups of working people – plays an im-

portant part in our era of confrontation between the two systems. The communist and workers' parties which firmly adhere to their Marxist-Leninist positions voice their readiness to pool their efforts with any political forces working for peaceful and constructive solution of acute international issues.

The Communists are united by one ideology – Marxism-Leninism; their common enemy is imperialism, and their common goal is socialism and communism. Those are the objective conditions for their success in the struggle for unity of the world communist movement.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, selfless and dedicated service to the interests of the people, and the common goal of achieving socialism are the indispensable conditions for effective, correct and concerted actions by communist and workers' parties, a guarantee of success in achieving their historic objectives.

National Liberation Movement

Crisis and Disintegration of the Colonial System of Imperialism

The national liberation movement which has swept vast areas of the world is part and parcel of the world revolutionary process. Imperialism has imposed colonial rule, in one form or another,

upon a considerable segment of the population of the globe. It has created a colonial system which took shape in the late 19th century and the early 20th century, and which by the 1940s had engulfed countries with a total of 660 million people, i. e. 30.6 per cent of the world's population.

Colonial oppression is the harshest kind of imperialist exploitation. The human dignity of the enslaved peoples is trampled upon, they are declared "inferior" peoples, nations of a "lower order". The wealth of these countries is savagely plundered and their peoples are mercilessly oppressed. The destinies of many colonial and dependent countries were decided not by them, but by the colonialists in London, Paris, Brussels, Rome, Washington and Lisbon.

The enslaved peoples have never taken their reduced position meekly, but have fought courageously against colonial slavery. It is for this reason that the national liberation movement is the antidote to national oppression, is directed against it and towards its liquidation.

The crisis of the colonial system was precipitated by an exacerbation of contradictions between the imperialist bourgeoisie of the metropolitan countries, on the one hand, and the colonial and dependent countries, on the other, and dates back to the Great October Socialist Revolution. Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in this connection that "the Soviet Revolution had advanced

human society by a great leap and had lit a bright flame which could not be smothered, and ... it had laid the foundations for that new civilisation towards which the world could advance." [1]

Who then takes part in the national liberation movement?

The proletariat is the most resolute and most consistent opponent of colonial oppression, the staunchest fighter for national liberation. The proletariat does not pursue any mercenary goals, but on the contrary, voices, more consistently than any other class or social group, the interests of the peoples of enslaved countries. The working class itself suffers greatly from exploitation and racial oppression at the hands of foreign capitalists.

In some countries, especially in Africa, the working class is relatively small. There are only four million industrial workers in Africa, whose total population is 250 million. Nevertheless, the working class succeeded in assuming the leadership of the national liberation struggle. The proletariat is much more developed in a number of Asian states and in the countries of Latin America where it has been taking form for decades and has in many cases grown into an influential and well-organised national force. There are about 25 mil-

[1] Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, London, Meridian, 1951, p. 14.

lion industrial and agricultural workers in Latin America and about 60 million in Asia. According to the United Nations estimates, the number of industrial employees in the poorly developed countries has grown 150 per cent over the past twenty-five years.

The peasants, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the national liberation movement, are the main ally of the proletariat. Altogether the peasantry makes up over two-thirds of the population of the developing countries; it has proved that it can take stern revolutionary action. Deprived of their land, oppressed and humiliated by neocolonialist hirelings, robbed by big landowners and usurers, the peasants have been aroused to participation in the liberation movement.

The petty bourgeoisie of cities and towns also takes an active role in the national liberation movement. By its very nature the petty bourgeoisie is closely linked with private ownership and thereby often gravitates towards the big bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the urban petty bourgeoisie itself is closely involved in the labour process, and its material conditions are far worse than that of the big bourgeoisie. Oppression by the neocolonialists, exploitation and ruthless competition of foreign companies and the compradore bourgeoisie prompts the petty bourgeoisie to a struggle for national liberation.

The national bourgeoisie and the national intelligentsia also carry much of the burden of exploitation by the neocolonialists. It is true that the national intelligentsia is still very small in many countries. Yet, many prominent figures of the national liberation movement have come from their midst.

Those are the social forces in the national liberation movement. Having started out as a force in the struggle for national freedom, the peoples of colonies and dependent countries are now fighting against the very foundations of the exploiter system and in this way become "an active factor in world politics and in the revolutionary destruction of imperialism".[1]

The crisis of the colonial system of imperialism is an underlying feature of the general crisis of capitalism. Its initial stage was marked by major revolutionary actions in colonies and semi-colonies, stimulated primarily by the persistent struggle of the peoples of imperialism-dependent countries for national statehood and freedom. After the Second World War in which the Soviet people made the decisive contribution to victory over nazi Germany and militarist Japan, the crisis of the colonial system of imperialism grew

[1] V. I. Lenin, "Third Congress of the Communist International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, 1977, pp. 454-455.

into its disintegration. That was when the German, Italian, and Japanese colonial empires ceased to exist. Britain, France, Holland, Belgium which had been debilitated by the war proved to be unable to cope with the national liberation struggle in their colonies and were compelled to recognise the national independence of a number of countries in Asia and Africa. That heralded the total collapse of the colonial system of imperialism.

With imperialism losing its strength and world socialism consolidating its positions, with the working-class and democratic movements gathering a powerful impetus and the anti-imperialist national liberation revolutions gaining momentum, the colonial system – that creature of capitalism – fell to pieces. In the 1970s, the last colonial empires disappeared. The victorious anti-colonial liberation revolutions had brought by 1985 a total of 115 new states, including 50 independent countries in Africa. Today, almost 70 per cent of the population of the capitalist world live in the newly liberated countries.

For the impact that it has made on world history the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism is the second most important revolutionary process, and the second most important factor of renewal of the world after the formation of the world system of socialism.

What are the factors behind such a rapid disin-

tegration of the colonial system of imperialism?

First, the power and prestige of socialism, the revolutionising influence of the world socialist system has grown tremendously. The countries of the socialist community render massive direct support to the national liberation movement and by doing so they paralyse the main forces of imperialism – its military machine.

Second, imperialism suffered a serious material, ideological and political setback. The Second World War wiped out its most aggressive contingents and seriously weakened most of the capitalist colonial powers.

Third, the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial movement has assumed vast proportions by involving broad sections of the population of the enslaved countries. The war years saw a considerable growth of the working class in some colonies and semi-colonies. The communist parties, local national revolutionary organisations intensified their activities.

Fourth, the advanced contingents of the working class in capitalist countries have intensified their class battles against imperialism in its main centres. These contingents came out against the colonial policy of the imperialists, launched a movement of solidarity with the fighters for national liberation.

Fifth, the links between the national liberation movement in different countries, and also the soli-

darity of the peoples fighting against imperialism and colonialism have become stronger.

What Is Neocolonialism?

Neocolonialism is a whole system of economic, political, military and other relations which imperialism has created for the exploitation of newly liberated states by taking advantage of their economic backwardness, unprivileged and subordinate position in the world capitalist economy. The aim of neocolonialism is to prevent new states in every way from conducting truly independent internal and external policies, from building an independent economy, from keeping these countries within the framework of the capitalist system, to retain them as raw material appendages, profit-yielding spheres of investment and marketing, to prevent them going socialist.

In spite of the fact that the developing countries have achieved political independence and freedom, the imperialists do not want to concede defeat. After the collapse of the colonial system the imperialists are still bent on plundering the natural resources and on the exploitation of the population of the newly liberated countries. Imperialism has succeeded in creating the most sophisticated system of neocolonialist exploitation and in tying to its apron strings a large number of

newly free nations. The results are disastrous. Today the developing countries, with their total population of more than two billion, have become a vast region of poverty. In the early 1980s, the per capita income in the newly liberated countries was on average 1/11 as high as that in the advanced capitalist countries. Over the past three decades this gap has been widening, instead of narrowing down. In addition to relative poverty, these countries suffer from wholesale illiteracy, ignorance, chronic malnutrition, actual starvation, appalling infant mortality, epidemics, all of which have affected hundreds of millions of people.

What, then, are the methods used by the neocolonialists?

One of these methods is the export of capital, especially state capital, and its investment in the national economy of the poorly developed countries. This enables the capital-exporting nation to increase the economic dependence of a developing country without establishing its political domination there. Export of state capital is often disguised as "aid", "gifts" and loans. The transnational corporations, under the guise of industrialisation of these countries, set up their own branches and control the profit-making key industries. Preference here is given to poorly developed countries rich in oil and other natural resources, also to countries oriented toward sti-

mulating capitalist relations and toward partnership with foreign capital. The average rate of profit taking by the Western capitalist corporations in developing countries is about 50 and even 100 per cent higher than in their own countries.

The "aid" that the West extends to the developing countries has a very little effect on the development of their productive forces. The whole idea of this "aid" is that the recipient country will soon spend the loans, credits and funds, and will ask for more. Moreover, such "aid" is extended at a high interest, which increases the financial dependence of many developing countries on the donor nations. In 1984, for example, their total external debt topped the 800-billion dollars mark. The mere debt repayment of the annual interest on such debts adds up to a gigantic sum of 160-170 billion dollars. This creates a kind of vicious circle when many countries are compelled to take new loans and credits not for their economic development, but for repayment of the growing interest on the old debts, thus giving the imperialist nations powerful means of economic blackmail and political pressure.

The neocolonialists are also seeking to draw the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America into the arms race. In 1982, the developing countries accounted for 16 per cent of the total military expenditure (as against 7.2 per cent

in 1970). The combined strength of the armies of the newly liberated countries is fifteen million, or 60 per cent of all military personnel in the world. These countries consume about 75 per cent of the world imports of weapons. Over 1978-1982, military expenditure increased by 18 billion dollars in the Middle East; by eight billion in South Africa; and by 7.5 billion dollars in Latin America.

A considerable place in the system of neocolonialism is held by non-equivalent foreign-trade exchange.

The US imperialists use such an old tried-and-true method as the planting of puppet dictatorial regimes in developing countries. They bribe military and political leaders, hatch political conspiracies, carry out coups, and organise the assassination of progressive leaders. When the masses rise in struggle against corrupt rulers, the imperialists invariably try to suppress liberation movements with various means, including direct military intervention – and all that under the guise of defending "freedom and democracy". A vivid illustration of this was the savage war that the American imperialists fought in Vietnam, their invasion of Grenada, etc.

The policy of neocolonialism conducted by the imperialists is directed at halting the socio-economic development of the countries dependent on them, at adjusting their national economies to the requirements of monopoly capitalism, at

subordinating these countries to the interests of monopoly capital and at channelling their development along capitalist lines.

The Capitalist Road of Development

After gaining political independence, the newly free nations have two roads open before them: the capitalist and the non-capitalist. The young countries that have thrown off the yoke of colonialism differ markedly among themselves, as some have chosen revolutionary democratic development and others have opted for capitalism.

The developing countries dominated by capitalist relations find it very difficult to overcome their economic backwardness and dependence on imperialist powers because they are limited in their right to manage their own resources. Besides, the various economic troubles and aggravating socio-economic antagonisms in the capitalist world have an adverse economic effect on the young countries following the capitalist road of development.

Take, for example, Latin America. Capitalism in that region has proved unable to provide a decent living standard or social justice for the people. Despite the impressive industrial achievements, the general mass of the working people live in appalling conditions. In Brazil, for in-

stance, 80 per cent of the population get only 33 per cent of the national income.

Poverty among the greater part of the population, marked inequality in the distribution of incomes, and gross social injustice are today the characteristic features of Latin American capitalism. And Latin America is considered the most advanced region in the developing world.

Up until recently, Nigeria was the showcase of African capitalism, being described as the "giant of Africa". This country with a population of 75 million leads the continent in oil output, foreign trade turnover and volume of investment. Nigeria's economic achievements, resulting from the oil boom, were the envy of many other African countries. However, it did not take long before the seamier side of the Nigerian economy came to life. According to one American reporter, "Almost 80 percent of Nigerian manufacturing is producing consumer goods. ...the leading manufacturing products are beverages, followed by textiles, petroleum products and food products. ...there has been heavy investment in vehicle and electrical products assembly plants, which are dependent, in some cases, more than 90 per cent on imported components." [1] In 1983, the Nigerian budget deficit reached 8.2 billion dollars,

[1] *The International Herald Tribune*, December 17-18, 1983.

whereas the foreign debt amounted to 14 billion dollars.

And what was in reality the so-called Nigerian democracy, praised to the skies as an example for the rest of Africa to follow? The vast majority of Nigerians was enslaved by a handful of people, whose main interest was not only to perpetuate their power at any price, but also to divide among themselves the nation's wealth, leaving the common people to sink deeper and deeper into poverty.

Countries of Socialist Orientation

The classics of Marxism-Leninism foresaw that, given certain historical conditions, some formerly backward nations would be able to go over to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage. V. I. Lenin provided an exhaustive analysis of the basic conditions which make it possible to follow such a road in a new historical context. It is, first of all, the existence of socialist states which are ready and able to give help and support to economically weak countries and show them, in practice, how to build a new society.

Today, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism about non-capitalist development are being put into practice of the revolutionary renewal of the world. Over the past two decades a large number of socialist-oriented states have emerged in Asia

and Africa, covering vast areas with a combined population of about 130 million. Most of these young states are in Africa, with 26 per cent of the continent's area and almost 22 per cent of its population.

What is the essence of socialist orientation?

Socialist orientation is a long and purposeful process of creating, under the guidance of revolutionary-democratic parties, favourable socio-political, material, technical, and cultural conditions necessary before starting to build the foundations of socialism. The motive force of this process is a broad alliance of classes and social groups involving workers, peasants, progressive professionals, students, office workers, part of the military, the national petty bourgeoisie, and some semi-proletarian sections of the urban population.

The ideological and political programme of revolutionary democracy is based on anti-imperialism, anti-feudalism, extensive democratic principles, and some elements of scientific socialism. As this programme is gradually put into practice in the course of a people's democratic revolution, the ideology of revolutionary democracy draws closer to Marxism-Leninism.

Despite certain local features, all the developing countries, which have embarked on the road of socialist orientation, have much in common in their policies: gradually eliminating the power of

imperialist transnational corporations and of local big business and landed aristocracy; ensuring that the people's state occupies the key positions in the economy and gradually introducing planned development of the productive forces; encouraging the cooperative movement in the countryside; increasing the role played by the working masses in the nation's social life; gradually strengthening the state apparatus with the national cadres devoted to the people; and pursuing an anti-imperialist foreign policy.

Another important element is the nationalisation of enterprises, belonging to transnational corporations and imperialist powers. Such a measure is quite justified because the property of these corporations is in actual fact the capitalised surplus value created by the working people of the colonial countries. Nationalisation has been carried out, for example, in Algeria, Syria and Ethiopia, to mention but a few. In Algeria, state-owned enterprises produce 90 per cent of the country's industrial goods. In Ethiopia, all the large and most of the medium private enterprises have been nationalised.

Thus, the nationalised enterprises become state property. The state sector also includes the mining and processing industries, all new enterprises built by the state, the banks, foreign trade organisations, etc. In the socialist-oriented countries, the share of state-owned enterprises in the

national income constitutes 30 to 50 per cent, and the state sector has been playing an increasing role in production, capital investments, employment, and in developing progressive industries.

In most socialist-oriented countries, the state sector is a force working against imperialism, feudalism and the anarchy of privately owned enterprises. It plays a progressive part because it helps to concentrate and use the material, financial and manpower resources in the national interests, boosting the rate and level of economic development.

One of the main directions of this process is the industrialisation of developing countries, which is aimed at enhancing the role of industry in the economy, building new enterprises and modernising existing ones, and transferring all branches of the economy, including agriculture, onto a modern technical footing. In the People's Republic of the Congo, for instance, over the last decade the annual growth rate of industrial production has reached 12 to 17 per cent. However, this does not mean that all countries, large and small, should build an integrated industrial complex. It would be more expedient to give priority development to industries which are more profit-making in a particular country.

Another important component of economic development in socialist-oriented countries is the

implementation of land reforms in the interests of the vast majority of the rural population. This includes abolishing the old forms of ownership of land and corresponding obsolete methods of management, handing the land over to the peasants, mechanising agricultural production, and developing a system of cooperatives and large-scale state-owned farms.

In Ethiopia, for instance, about 25,000 peasant associations have been set up, totalling over five million members. All the land that had formerly belonged to the aristocracy and feudal lords has now been given to the peasants. Wage labour in agriculture is banned, as peasants' production cooperatives are being set up, with land and farm implements pooled for common use.

Marxism-Leninism describes a number of features common to the development of all socialist-oriented countries. These include:

– accession to power of a revolutionary-democratic government, which gradually adopts the principles of scientific socialism;

– creation of a revolutionary-democratic state, with the working masses having a greater say in state affairs;

– establishment of various organisations of the working people and the enhancement of their role in the country's socio-economic life;

– extensive agrarian reforms in the interests of the working peasantry, with the latter's direct

participation, and establishment of a system of cooperatives;

– nationalisation of the large and medium private enterprises owned by both foreign and local capitalists, and establishment of a strong state sector;

– balanced development of the economy aimed at laying down a material and technical base for building the foundations of socialism and raising the people's living standards;

– a cultural revolution aimed at combatting illiteracy, creating a new intellectual force, educating the working people to enable them to tackle the tasks of socialist orientation, and spreading a scientific ideology;

– an anti-imperialist foreign policy, friendship and close cooperation with socialist countries.

Socialist orientation is a long and complex process. It would be wrong to confuse it with the actual building of socialism, which can be accomplished only in a state of proletarian dictatorship, under the guidance of a party of a Marxist-Leninist type, and only when the requisite material and technical preconditions are available.

Socialist orientation is not a spontaneous movement, but a consciously directed process, which has its own development stages. Some countries have chosen socialist orientation only recently, others have been carrying out progressive changes with a socialist perspective for several

years already, while still others have entered the second decade of such development.

The rich experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist states has a great revolutionising effect on the development of young countries with a socialist orientation. Socialism is the only alternative for the developing countries in their struggle for economic independence.

Cooperation Between the Newly Independent States with the Socialist Countries

Economic ties between socialist and developing countries is a new type of economic relations, based on equal, mutually beneficial cooperation and assistance in overcoming age-old backwardness.

Cooperation between the socialist countries and socialist-oriented states includes economic and technical assistance, financial support, help in training personnel, etc. At present, the USSR and other socialist states within the CMEA carry on economic, scientific and technical cooperation with 90 developing countries. As a result of such assistance, 4,500 agricultural and industrial enterprises have been built or are under construction and over one million trained personnel have been prepared.

An important form of cooperation between the

socialist and developing countries is equal and mutually beneficial trade. It is based on long-term intergovernmental treaties. The USSR has lifted all duties on imports from the developing countries. Ninety per cent of exported machinery and equipment are meant for the developing countries. The machines exported are of top quality, with field changes for specific climatic conditions.

The socialist countries make available to the developing countries long-term loans and credits (for 10 to 12 years) at 2-2.5 per cent interest per annum. The socialist countries' economic assistance has no political or other strings attached and has purely economic aims. About two-thirds of this aid is channelled into building up the developing countries' industry. In this way, credits from the socialist countries help the former colonies to develop their own independent economies, while the terms of their granting do not mean to encroach on the national dignity of the debtors. The socialist countries take no part in managing or sharing the profits of the enterprises built with their help. But they readily share their experience of economic construction, and do this free of charge. The USSR and other socialist states build entire industrial complexes on easy terms, helping the newly free nations to gain economic independence.

In extending and intensifying economic coop-

eration with the newly independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Soviet Union and other CMEA members proceed from V. I. Lenin's thesis that "these people are turning to us for help", whether directly or indirectly, consciously or subconsciously, but they "are becoming more and more aware of the economic necessity of an alliance with Soviet Russia against international imperialism" [1].

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries resolutely oppose the aggressive plans of imperialism in relation to the countries and peoples fighting for freedom and national independence. In the context of a new correlation of forces on the international scene, on a number of occasions imperialism did not dare to openly intervene in the affairs of Asian and African peoples. The stronger positions of the socialist community have not only contributed to an upsurge of the national liberation movement, but made it possible for many colonial nations to win independence by a less painful, peaceful means.

Being guided by the ideas of internationalism, the USSR and other socialist states are aiding the developing countries not only economically and technically but in certain cases help them to build up their defence potential. An alliance between

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1977, p. 477.

the socialist community and the national liberation movement is an important condition of success in the struggle against imperialism, for freedom, national independence and social progress.

Marxism-Leninism on the Problems of War and Peace

The Strategy of Peaceful Coexistence

The power of Marxism-Leninism consists not only in the fact that it teaches the working people how to build a new, communist society. Marxism-Leninism is also an effective weapon in the struggle to save humankind from nuclear extermination, a weapon capable of rallying the forces able to ensure peace and freedom for all nations.

Karl Marx has proved that the social causes of war are noted in the antagonism inherent in a class society based on exploitation of man by man. Under capitalism, the underlying cause of war is the pursuit of profit by the bourgeoisie. For the sake of profit, the bourgeoisie plays "upon national prejudices", and squanders "in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure".[1]

[1] Karl Marx, "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. Two, p. 18.

Marxism-Leninism has proved that the old exploiter system with its economic poverty and political madness will inevitably be replaced by a new social system, whose international principle will be peace, because all nations will have one and the same ruler, labour. The alliance of workers of all countries will eradicate all wars, while the simple laws of human morality and justice will become the highest principles of international relations. Karl Marx pointed out that the "fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working class".[1]

It is highly symbolic that the first legislative act of the Soviet Government was the Decree on Peace, written by V. I. Lenin and adopted at the Second Congress of Soviets on November 8, 1917 (October 26 by the Julian Calendar, used then in Russia). Here is how one of the delegates to the congress described that memorable moment:

"The hearts of the people, worn out with suffering, were craving for peace... 'Well, what do you reckon, are we going to have peace or not?' the delegates would ask each other.

"At last Lenin rose and began to speak. His very first passionate words thrilled everybody at once: 'The question of peace is a burning and painful question of the day. Much has been said

[1] *Ibid.*

and written on the subject, and all of you, no doubt, have discussed it quite a lot...'

"Someone shouted from the crowd: 'You are right, Comrade Lenin! All we think and talk about is peace!'

"In response, Lenin continued: 'Permit me, therefore, to proceed to read the declaration...'

"When he read out the Decree on Peace, there was such a silence as if people had stopped breathing. When he finished, the entire hall heaved a sigh of relief, followed a moment later by a thunderstorm of applause and joyful cries..."

The decree declared war to be "the greatest of crimes against humanity" and solemnly announced the determination immediately to sign the terms of peace on conditions which are equally just for all nations, without annexations or indemnities. The first thing that the people of Russia did after taking power into their own hands was to start a struggle for peace, setting an inspiring example for the whole of humanity.

At the same time, the first workers' and peasants' government announced to the whole world that the new Russian state would spare no effort to oppose any kind of aggression and wars of conquest and would promote peace and friendship among nations.

V. I. Lenin worked out the fundamentals of a peaceful foreign policy based on the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social

systems – the socialist and the capitalist. What does this mean? Peaceful coexistence means the renunciation of war as a means of solving controversial issues between states, and their settlement through negotiations; equality, understanding and trust between states and consideration for each other's interests; non-interference in each other's affairs and the recognition of each nation's right to solve its own problems independently; strict observance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries; and development of economic and cultural cooperation on the basis of complete equality and mutual benefit.

Leninism has shown the organic connection between peaceful coexistence and peaceful socialist construction. In peacetime it is a thousand times easier to overcome the backwardness inherited from the old regime, reach a high level of economic and cultural development, and enjoy the advantages of the socialist system. Leninism outlines the factors that make peaceful coexistence possible. The most important of these are:

– the nature of the socialist system, which has no classes or social groups that make a profit on war;

– the growing economic, political and military might of socialism, which is holding back imperialist aggression;

– identity of the peaceful policies of socialism with the interests of the nations of the world;

– the growing political activity and awareness among the working people in capitalist, colonial and dependent countries and their increasing determination to defend the cause of peace and friendship among nations;

– the antagonisms between monopolies and between imperialist states, which hamper their efforts to unleash a war against socialism;

– and the interest of certain business circles in the West in developing economic ties with the socialist countries.

However, to peacefully coexist does not mean to try "to persuade" the imperialists or to appeal to them "to be good". The policy of peaceful coexistence has nothing to do with "persuading" and even less with "appeasing" the imperialists. Not begging the imperialist powers for peace but imposing peace upon them through the joint active efforts of all peace-loving forces – such is the essence of Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence.

Peaceful coexistence concerns only inter-state relations. For that reason there is no contradiction between the socialist community's foreign policy directed at establishing this principle in relations with the capitalist countries, on the one hand, and the socialist community's solidarity with the struggle of other nations for freedom and progress, on the other. Peaceful coexistence does not mean giving up the ideological struggle

between socialism and capitalism.

The Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between states with opposite social systems rallies the masses around communist parties, paralyses the bellicose forces of imperialism, impedes the export of counter-revolution, and hampers the efforts of the reactionary forces of the world to crush the liberation movements.

Peaceful coexistence is an objective need of world development and the basis of stability of the entire system of modern international relations. There is no alternative to peaceful coexistence, no other universally acceptable solution. Peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is not merely the absence of war. This is an international order of things where good neighbourliness and cooperation predominate, and not military force. Peaceful coexistence means a broad exchange of achievements in science and technology, an exchange of cultural values for the benefit of all nations. The tremendous resources which are otherwise being squandered for military purposes, for destruction would be directed exclusively for creative endeavour. The states embarked on the road of independent development would then be protected from outside interference, which would help them to move forward along the path of national and social progress. This would also create favourable possibilities for all countries to resolve global problems by

their joint efforts. Peaceful coexistence serves the interests of all countries, of all nations.

The 27th CPSU Congress worked out the fundamental principles of a comprehensive system of international security. This system includes:

1. *In the military sphere*

– renunciation by the nuclear powers of war both nuclear and conventional – against each other or against third countries;

– prevention of an arms race in outer space, cessation of all nuclear weapons tests and the total destruction of such weapons, a ban on and the destruction of chemical weapons, and renunciation of the development of other means of mass annihilation;

– a strictly controlled lowering of the levels of military capabilities of countries to limits of reasonable adequacy;

– disbandment of military alliances, and as a stage towards this – renunciation of their enlargement and of the formation of new ones;

– balanced and commensurate reduction of military budgets.

2. *In the political sphere*

– unconditional respect in international practice for the right of each people to choose the ways and forms of its development independently;

– a just political settlement of international crises and regional conflicts;

– elaboration of a set of measures aimed at

building confidence between states and the creation of effective guarantees against attack from without and of the inviolability to their frontiers;

– elaboration of effective methods of preventing international terrorism, including the safety of international land, air, and sea communications.

3. *In the economic sphere*

– exclusion of all forms of discrimination from international practice; renunciation of the policy of economic blockades and sanctions if this is not directly envisaged in the recommendations of the world community;

– joint quest for ways for a just settlement of the problem of debts;

– establishment of a new world economic order guaranteeing equal economic security to all countries;

– elaboration of principles for utilising part of the funds released as a result of a reduction of military budgets for the good of the world community, of developing nations in the first place;

– the pooling of efforts in exploring and making peaceful use of outer space and in resolving global problems on which the destinies of civilisation depend.

4. *In the humanitarian sphere*

– cooperation in the dissemination of the ideas of peace, disarmament, and international security; greater flow of general objective information

and broader contact between peoples for the purpose of learning about one another; reinforcement of the spirit of mutual understanding and concord in the relations between them;

– extirpation of genocide, apartheid, advocacy of fascism and every other form of racial, national or religious exclusiveness, and also of discrimination against people on this basis;

– extension – while respecting the laws of each country – of international cooperation in the implementation of the political, social, and personal rights of people;

– decision in a humane and positive spirit of questions related to the reuniting of families, marriage, and the promotion of contacts between people and between organisations;

– strengthening of and quests for new forms of cooperation in culture, art, science, education, and medicine.

These Principles stem logically from the provisions of the Programme of the CPSU. They are entirely in keeping with our concrete foreign policy initiatives. Guided by them it would be possible to make peaceful coexistence the highest universal principle of state-to-state relations.

Economic Competition of the Two Systems

Peaceful coexistence is the basis for economic competition between socialism and capitalism.

Such economic competition of the two systems is an objective law of our age.

The decisive area of economic competition is material production, which, in the long run, determines the development of all spheres in the life of society. Such economic competition is, in actual fact, an intense class struggle, since world capitalism will not give up its positions without struggle. The main part in this peaceful contest between the two opposing systems belongs to the economic rivalry between the USSR and the USA.

The Soviet Union started out in this economic race with the United States with a tremendous handicap. Before the revolution of 1917, the Russian Empire was a backward agrarian country. After the Civil War and military intervention of the capitalist countries in 1918-1922, Russia's industry produced only 2-2.2 per cent of what was put out in the United States. Later, the Second World War also inflicted tremendous losses on the Soviet economy, totalling about 260 billion roubles, which amounted to nearly 30 per cent of the country's national wealth. Over 20 million Soviet people perished in that war, whereas the death toll of the Second World War, counting all the nations involved, totalled 50 million people. To this one must add the cost of all the destroyed Soviet cities, villages, industrial enterprises, etc.

Despite all this, using the advantages of social-

ism, the Soviet Union achieved tremendous results in economic, scientific and cultural development over a historically brief period of time. The chief indicator in the economic competition of the two systems is the industrial production growth rate. In this respect, the USSR surpasses the United States several times over. The Soviet Union's volume of industrial production has exceeded that of Britain, France, and the FRG combined.

Already today, the Soviet Union has outstripped the United States in such major indicators of the population's living standards as the level of employment, free medical care, free education, a comprehensive system of social insurance and social security, leisure, recreation and sports facilities, etc. In the socialist countries, people are free of exploitation, unemployment, economic depressions, racial or any other discrimination in wages, and of any fear for the morrow. No country of the capitalist world has such a sweeping system of civil rights protection as the Soviet Union.

Another important indicator in economic competition is technological progress. V. I. Lenin was the first to point out the decisive role of the level of scientific and technical development in economic competition with capitalism. "Those who have the greatest technical equipment, organisation and discipline, and the best

machines, will gain the upper hand,"[1] he said. The combined material and technical foundation that socialism possesses today makes it possible for the socialist countries to reach an even higher rate of scientific and technological progress. In the long run, socialism can and will win out because it opens up new incentives for the growth of productive forces, science, technology and culture that capitalism never offered, and makes it possible to reach a higher labour productivity.

Naturally, nobody can foretell in detail the course of events at any given moment of future development. But if one approaches the subject not from the point of view of details or possible contingencies, that is, as V. I. Lenin said, "when the matter is taken on a broad scale, then particular and trifling details recede into the background and the chief motive forces of world history become apparent".[2] And if one knows the principal motive forces of history and has discovered the main trends of historical development, one can clearly see the ultimate outcome of the struggle between the two world systems – the victory of communism worldwide.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "Extraordinary Fourth All-Russia Congress of Soviets", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, 1977, p. 195.

[2] V. I. Lenin, "Speech Delivered at the First All-Russia Congress of Working Cossacks, March 1, 1920", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, 1977, p. 381.

Peace – the Ideal of Socialism

The emergence of socialism in 1917 meant that a powerful force of state-organised proletariat barred the way to imperialist wars. Socialism has become a reliable bulwark in the struggle for peace. Abolishing all forms of exploitation, socialism also condemns such an attribute of capitalism as war. "An end to wars," V. I. Lenin pointed out, "peace among nations, the cessation of pillaging and violence – such is our ideal." [1]

The struggle for peace is one of the greatest advantages of socialism over capitalism. The policy of the Soviet state throughout the entire period of its existence was aimed at avoiding war, putting an end to war, and establishing a durable peace. Back in November 1917, V. I. Lenin said: "Now the struggle for peace is on. It is a difficult struggle. It is highly naive to think that peace can be easily attained, and that the bourgeoisie will hand it to us on a platter as soon as we mention it." [2]

The problem of preserving and strengthening peace today concerns the whole of mankind,

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[1] V. I. Lenin, "The Question of Peace", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, 1977, p. 293.

[2] V. I. Lenin, "Speech at the First All-Russia Congress of the Navy, November 22 (December 5), 1917", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, 1972, p. 345.

because a thermonuclear war, were it to break out, would spare no continent. However, the US administration is trying to organise a crusade against the Soviet Union, promising to turn communism into a dust heap of history. The US ruling quarters have set themselves the impossible aim of blocking progressive change in the world and reversing the course of history.

Launching yet another spiral in the mad build-up of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, the United States spends colossal sums on war preparations, with hundreds of billions of dollars being spent on building up strategic offensive forces, creating weapons for a first nuclear strike, stockpiling chemical weapons, developing first-strike complexes in space, etc. The United States has already deployed in Western Europe its Pershing-2 nuclear first-strike missiles and cruise missiles, posing an additional threat to the security of the Soviet Union and its allies.

The American policy of space militarisation is especially jeopardising to the cause of peace, as the US spends tens of billions of dollars on developing an anti-satellite system, which is used primarily for military purposes.

American imperialists are preparing to unleash a thermonuclear war which could kill billions of people and indeed wipe out life on earth. "We are well aware of the threat that the reckless and

adventuristic actions of the aggressive forces of imperialism pose today to mankind, and we are saying this outright, warning all the nations of the world of that danger. We are not trying to achieve military superiority and we have no intention of dictating our will to others, but we shall not let anyone upset the existing military balance. And let there be not the slightest doubt in anybody's mind: we shall continue to strengthen our defence potential in order to have sufficient means to cool the hot heads of bellicose adventurists."[1]

The whole world is well acquainted with the Peace Programme developed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The programme sets the following major tasks:

– to steadily strengthen the unity of the fraternal socialist states, develop their comprehensive cooperation in building a new society, and to increase their active joint contribution to the cause of strengthening peace;

– to put an end to the growing arms race, which is threatening world peace, and eventually to bring about a reduction of weapons stockpiles and ultimately disarmament;

– to do everything possible to deepen detente and give it concrete form in mutually beneficial

[1] *Documents of the Plenary Session of the CPSU Central Committee. February 13, 1984*, p. 19 (in Russian).

cooperation between states; to make active efforts at bringing about the full implementation of the Final Act of the 1975 European Conference in Helsinki and to develop peaceful cooperation in Europe;

– to promote peace and security in Asia on the basis of joint efforts of all the states on the continent;

– to strive for the conclusion of a worldwide treaty on the non-use of force in international relations;

– to consider the complete elimination of all the vestiges of colonial oppression and infringement of the equality and independence of nations to be one of the key international issues;

– to make every effort at eliminating discrimination and all artificial barriers in international trade, as well as all forms of inequality, diktat and exploitation in international economic relations.

Of tremendous importance for the future of the world is the Soviet Union's commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. This pledge drew an enthusiastic response and approval of all the peace-loving forces of our planet. Specific Soviet proposals in this connection include the working out, adoption and stage-by-stage implementation of a programme of nuclear disarmament; limitation and reduction of strategic armaments; limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments in

Europe; a universal ban on nuclear weapon tests; non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons; a ban on the deployment of any type of weapons in outer space; limitation and reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces; reduction of military budgets; non-use of scientific and technical achievements and discoveries for military purposes; etc. The implementation of this package of extremely important measures would enable humankind to preserve tremendous material resources, thereby accelerating social progress, and the main thing – to ward off the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

The campaign for peace is not a tactical ploy of the Communists, as capitalist ideologists would have the world believe, but the basis of the foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The policy of peace is the principal foreign-policy course of socialist countries. The USSR favours the settlement of all controversial issues through negotiations, but, of course, only on the basis of equality, equal security and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Soviet foreign policy and numerous peace initiatives put forward by the CPSU and Soviet Government get approval and support from peace-loving people worldwide.

Eliminating War From the Life of Society and Preserving Peace

The idea of establishing durable peace on our planet has been the dream of people down the ages. Back in the 4th century B. C. the Greek philosopher Plato (427-347 B. C.) looked forward to the day when all disputes would be settled peacefully. Later, the French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) construed a plan of action to avoid war and build durable peace. But, as Karl Marx wrote, "*war* develops [certain features] earlier than peace..." [1]

However, this does not mean that peace should always remain in the position of a stepson or outcast. It does not mean that peace should always humbly give way to the insatiable Moloch of war, who since time immemorial has always started his bloody march in gilded tunics and ended up with mountains of skulls. On the contrary, from the very nature of world civilisation and the laws of its development it follows that the only condition of man's survival is good-neighbourly relations between nations.

In their campaign for peace the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are today supported by a large group of non-aligned states, who are

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[1] Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 214.

also opposed to war and who need peace to be able to solve the problems of national reconstruction and development. Besides, the need to preserve peace is recognised by large sections of the public in imperialist countries, including realistic-minded politicians in various bourgeois parties.

Removing war from the life of all nations is both a burning issue and a realistic goal. Never before has war threatened entire nations with such disasters as today. Yet never before have there been such powerful forces campaigning for peace. The main guarantor of peace on our planet is the socialist community. The growth of its might, the steady development of its economy, achievements in perfecting developed socialism, and the strengthening of its defence potential—such is the very real contribution of the socialist countries to the cause of peace.

An important factor in warding off the threat of nuclear war and preserving peace is the international working-class and communist movement. The classics of Marxism-Leninism saw the historic mission of the working class not only in eliminating oppression, exploitation, poverty and the lack of human rights, but also in delivering humanity from bloody wars. The working class cannot allow the historically doomed forces of imperialism to carry away hundreds of millions of lives with them into the grave. That is why the

working class is determined to win peace.

The working class is politically the most advanced class. It has a more profound understanding of the true causes of war and can therefore advance the best methods of preventing it. The proletariat is the best-organised class and therefore wages the most consistent campaign against war. The great advantage of the working class is that it is headed by communist and workers' parties which are guided by the most advanced scientific theory, Marxism-Leninism.

Today, there is not one issue that is more pressing than the prevention of a new world war. The worldwide anti-war movement is swelling with every year, assuming in the 1980s unprecedented proportions. Peace marches many thousands strong, besieging of NATO bases, mass action against the deployment of US medium-range missiles in Western Europe—all this demonstrates the activisation of the broadest possible masses in the struggle against war and for peace. The anti-war movement is being joined by numerous organisations of peace campaigners, labour unions, women's and youth organisations in a number of countries and also scientists, physicians, lawyers, politicians, and prominent civic and religious leaders.

The world revolutionary process, the development of socialism, and the strengthening of the political and economic independence of the

newly liberated countries is taking place at a time when world imperialism is pushing humanity to the brink of a new world war. Such a situation naturally affects the solving of virtually all vital issues facing the nations on our planet. Therefore, the campaign for peace becomes the basic task of the world communist movement. Communists have always fought against oppression and exploitation of man by man, and today they are fighting for the survival of human civilisation, for the right to live.

"The entire course of world development confirms the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the character and main content of the present epoch. *It is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, and of historical competition between the two world socio-political systems, an epoch of socialist and national liberation revolutions and of the disintegration of colonialism, an epoch of struggle of the main motive forces of social development—world socialism, the working-class and communist movement, the peoples of the newly free states and the mass democratic movements—against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression and for democracy and social progress,*" says the new edition of the CPSU Programme.

GLOSSARY

Absolute deterioration in the condition of the working class, a decrease in the living standard of the proletariat under capitalism, which is manifest in the falling degree of satisfaction of the growing material and cultural needs of the workers.

Absolute truth, complete, exhaustive knowledge of a given subject, knowledge which cannot be refuted with the development of cognition.

Aggregate social product, the sum total of material benefits produced in society over a definite period (usually a year).

Agnosticism, a doctrine that completely or partially denies the possibility of knowing the Universe.

Anarchy of production, lack of planning and organisation and the chaotic and disbalanced character of the economy under the spontaneous operation of economic laws of commodity production based on private property.

Antagonism, a contradiction that has reached its most acute form and is usually resolved through the destruction of one of the conflicting opposites.

Anti-Communism, the ideology and policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie which are hostile to the theory and practice of communism and distort the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

Basic question of philosophy, the question of the relationship of consciousness to being, of the ideal to the material. It has two sides: (1) what is primary, matter or consciousness, and (2) is the world knowable?

Basis, the totality of relations of production, the economic system of a society corresponding to a specific socio-economic formation.

Being, objective reality which exists independently of human consciousness.

Bourgeoisie, the dominating class of capitalist society, which owns the principal means of production and exists by exploiting wage labour.

Capital, value which begets surplus value as a result of the exploitation of wage labour.

Capitalism, the mode of production of material wealth based on private ownership of the means of production and exploitation of wage labour.

Chartists, the supporters of Chartism, a mass

revolutionary movement of British workers from the mid-1830s to the early 1850s.

Classes (social), large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in the historically determined system of social production, above all by their relation to the means of production.

Class struggle, struggle between the hostile classes of the exploited and the exploiters, which constitutes the main motive force of all antagonistic socio-economic formations.

Colonialism, a policy of imperialist states aimed at the direct enslavement of the peoples of economically backward countries.

Commodity, product of labour intended not for consumption by the producer but for sale.

Communism, a socio-economic formation which supersedes capitalism. It consists of two phases: socialism (the first phase) and communism proper (the second phase).

Competition, antagonistic struggle between private commodity producers for the most profitable terms of production and sale of commodities.

Contradiction, dialectical, the unity and interaction of opposite, antagonistic aspects and trends of all objects and phenomena, and the source of their development.

Cultural revolution, integral part of a socialist revolution, the process of assimilating socialist ideology and culture by the working masses and creating a new, higher type of culture, socialist culture.

Developed socialism, a socio-economic system is being built in the USSR, a lengthy and objectively necessary stage within the framework of the first phase of the communist socio-economic formation. It is characterised by highly developed productive forces and production relations and the full establishment of the collectivist principles inherent in socialism. This stage utilises the advantages of socialism to the fullest, makes it possible to increasingly satisfy people's needs, and provides favourable conditions for the harmonious development of the individual.

Dialectical materialism, the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, a scientific world outlook, a universal method of perceiving the world, and a science of the most general laws governing the development of nature, society and thinking.

Dialectics, a science of the more general laws governing the development of nature, society and thought. It discloses the inner source of all development—the unity and conflict of opposites.

Dictatorship of the proletariat, state power of the working class established in the course of the

socialist revolution. It is used to achieve the victory of that revolution, suppress the resistance of the overthrown exploiter classes, and build a socialist society.

Economic crisis of overproduction, under capitalism, periodically recurring overproduction of goods in such quantities which cannot be sold because of the relatively low incomes of the population. Its main cause is the basic contradiction of capitalism between the social character of production and the private form of appropriation of material wealth.

Economic laws, objective laws governing the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of goods at different stages in the development of human society.

Exploitation, gratuitous appropriation of the surplus labour and sometimes of a part of the necessary labour of the direct producers by the owners of the means of production.

Export, the sending of goods, services and capital out of a country for sale and investment abroad.

Expropriation, forcible deprivation (gratuitous or compensated) of the property of one social class by another. For example, nationalisation of the property of foreign corporations in many developing countries.

Feudalism, antagonistic socio-economic formation which follows the slave-owning system. Feudalism is based on the feudal lord's ownership of land and the personal dependence on him of peasants engaged in small-scale individual farming on plots belonging to the feudal lord.

General crisis of capitalism, the all-round crisis of the world capitalist system, embracing the economy, politics and ideology. It is a condition of the world capitalist system characterised by the collapse of the capitalist mode of production and the establishment of a new, socialist system.

Historical materialism, an integral part of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, a universal sociological theory, and a science of the most general laws and motive forces of social development.

Idealism, one of the main philosophical trends diametrically opposed to materialism in the solution of the basic question of philosophy. Idealism proceeds from the principle that the spiritual is primary and the material is secondary. There are two varieties of idealism: subjective and objective. Objective idealism takes as the primary cause spirit, the absolute idea, God. Subjective idealism considers individual consciousness to be primary.

Ideology, a system of philosophical, political, religious, ethical and aesthetical views which ulti-

mately expresses the interests of certain social classes.

Imperialism, monopoly capitalism, the highest and last stage of its development, and the eve of the socialist revolution.

Import, the bringing of commodities and capital from abroad for sale and investment in the importing country.

Integration, economic socialist, the joining and planned coordination of efforts by the socialist countries in order to advance the international division of labour and to draw closer together and even out their levels of economic development.

International division of labour, territorial division of production between countries which specialise in manufacturing certain types of goods.

Internationalism, proletarian, a world outlook which recognises the equality and equal rights of all peoples regardless of their ethnic background or race. It demands unity of action and solidarity of all countries in the struggle against exploitation, oppression, and economic and social injustice.

Labour, man's purposeful activity by which he alters natural materials, adapting them to satisfy his requirements.

Labour power, the individual's ability to work, the totality of the individual's physical and mental abilities used in material production.

Labour productivity, ability of a worker to produce a specific amount of goods within a specific working time (hour, working day, etc).

Leninism (by the name of its founder, V. I. Lenin), a new stage in the development of Marxism, Marxism of the age of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the age of the collapse of colonialism and the victory of national liberation movements, the age of the transition of humanity from capitalism to communism.

Law, (1) an inner, essential, stable, recurrent, and necessary interconnection of phenomena. The main aim of any science is the knowledge of objective laws. (2) System of rules and standards of behaviour expressed in laws and decrees of state authority and regulating social relations in the interests of the ruling class in a given society.

Marxism-Leninism, an integral scientific system of philosophical, economic and socio-political views constituting the world outlook of the working class; a science of the laws governing the development of nature and society, of the socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship, of the

victory of socialism, and of building a communist society.

Materialism, one of the two main trends in philosophy, which provides the correct answer to the basic question of philosophy. Contrary to idealism, materialism recognises matter as primary and spirit as secondary.

Matter, philosophical category designating objective reality, which exists independently of consciousness and is reflected by it.

Means of labour, tools, machines and equipment with the help of which man tills the earth and acts upon nature in order to procure the means of subsistence.

Means of production, means and objects of labour combined, used by people in the process of material production (tools, machines, seeds, fuel, etc).

Metaphysics, method of thinking opposed to dialectics. It denies development or reduces it to simple quantitative changes, and refuses to see the inner source of development of phenomena (their inner contradictions).

Military-industrial complex, alliance of the arms-manufacturing monopolies, reactionary military circles, and top government officials in capitalist countries, which favours a mounting arms race

for the purpose of strengthening the class domination of monopoly capital.

Mode of production, historically determined mode of manufacturing material wealth necessary for production purposes and personal consumption, that is the production of the means of production and of consumer goods. It is the unity of productive forces and relations of production.

Morality, totality of rules and standards of people's conduct in relation to other people and to society as a whole.

National income, value created in a country over a specified period of time (usually in a year).

Nationalisation, privately owned land, industrial enterprises, banks, transport, etc. becoming the state property.

Neocolonialism, policy of imperialist states aimed at preserving or restoring in a modified form their economic, political and ideological domination in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Oligarchy, a form of government in an exploiter state under which all power belongs to a small group of its wealthiest citizens.

Ownership, the relations of people to each other with regard to the appropriation of the means of

production and of the material wealth created therewith.

Party, a political organisation which expresses the general, fundamental interests of a class or social stratum and directs its political activity.

Politics, area of activity linked with relations between classes, nations and other social groups. The essence of these relations is the seizure, retention and use of state power in the interests of a class, nation or party.

Production relations, relations among people in the process of the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of material wealth, which constitute the economic basis of society.

Productive forces, implements of production with the help of which material wealth is produced; people who have the knowledge, production experience and labour skills, and who set the means of production in motion.

Proletariat, in capitalist society, a class of wage workers consisting of persons deprived of the means of production and thereby obliged to sell their labour force to owners of the means of production, the capitalists.

Relative deterioration in the condition of the proletariat, impoverishment of the workers compared to

the rapid enrichment of the bourgeoisie, i. e. the diminution of the workers' share in the entire wealth of capitalist society which they themselves create with their labour.

Reproduction, continuous repetition of the process of social production.

Revisionism, opportunist trend in the working-class movement which, under the guise of "reconsidering", "revising", and "renewing" Marxism-Leninism, attempts to distort it.

Revolution, a radical change, a method of transition from a historically obsolete socio-economic formation to a more progressive one.

Scientific communism (socialism), one of the component parts of Marxism-Leninism, the science on the proletarian class struggle and the socialist revolution, on the socio-political laws behind the building of socialism and communism, and on the world revolutionary process as a whole.

Slave-owning system, the first antagonistic socio-economic formation in human history. The slave-owning mode of production is based on private ownership of the means of production and of the producer—the slave, on exploitation of man by man, and on class antagonism between slaves and slave-owners.

Social division of labour, isolation of various types of work in society, with producers specialising in manufacturing goods in specific branches of the economy (industry, agriculture, transport, etc.).

Socialism, the first phase of the communist socio-economic formation, which is based on public ownership of the means of production and on the labour of equal members of society free of exploitation.

Socio-economic formation, a stage of social development characterised by a historically determined economic system and a corresponding superstructure.

Sovereignty, political independence of a state in its home and foreign policy which does not permit any foreign interference.

State, basic instrument of political power in a class society.

State-monopoly capitalism, a modern form of monopoly capitalism characterised by the merger of monopolies with the bourgeois state with the aim of preserving the capitalist system, ensuring maximum profits for finance capital, suppressing the revolutionary working-class and national liberation movements, and more successfully waging their campaign against the socialist community.

Superstructure, sum total of political, legal, moral and religious relations, which correspond to appropriate institutions (the state, parties, public organisations, etc.) and forms of social consciousness (politics, law, science, philosophy, ethics, art, etc.). The superstructure is determined by the basis and, in turn, has a definite influence on it.

Surplus value, value created by the wage worker's labour over and above the value of his labour power and appropriated by the capitalist without remuneration.

Unemployment, a phenomenon inherent in capitalism under which part of the able-bodied population cannot find employment and form the reserve army of labour.

Utopian socialism, socialist teachings which build plans for reorganising society while being out of touch with reality and class struggle.

World capitalist system, the sum total of international economic ties between the national economies of the non-socialist countries. It took shape at the age of capitalism. One of its characteristic features is neocolonialist expansion and the exploitation by the industrially developed capitalist states of economically backward ones.

World outlook, the totality of one's views and notions of the world and its laws; a system of

views in which a person expresses his attitude to reality, to natural and social phenomena.

World socialist system, a socio-economic and political community of free, sovereign and equal states united by common interests and goals and advancing along the road of socialism.

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